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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MEETINGS OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES
(NARENDRA MANDAL)

Held at New Delhi on the 20th February 1928 and following days.

CONTENTS.

	PAGES.
1. Agenda	2
2. Work-card	3
3. Memoranda explanatory of agenda	4—23
4. Proceedings of the first day	24
(a) Opening speech by His Excellency the Viceroy	25—29
(b) Resolution of loyalty to the Royal Throne by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar	29—30
(c) Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the death of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge	30
(d) Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Maharaja of Karauli, and the Raja of Jawhar	31—32
(e) Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharajas of Tripura and Kishangarh	32—33
5. Proceedings of the second day	34
(a) Report from His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year	35—39
(b) Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the framing of the agenda of the Chamber of Princes and its Standing Committee	39—43
(c) Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the fixing of the age limit for the assumption of the reins of Government at 21	43—51
6. Proceedings of the third day	52
Continuation of discussions on His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's resolution regarding the fixing of the age limit for the assumption of the reins of Government at 21	53—70
7. Proceedings of the fourth day	71
Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner regarding the appointment of the Indian States Committee and internal reforms in Indian States	72—97
8. Proceedings of the fifth day	98
(a) Statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala regarding his work as a representative of India at the meeting of the League of Nations in 1927	99—104
(b) Resolutions by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as Chancellor or as Members of the Standing Committee	104—105
(c) Assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation purposes, etc.	105—108
(d) Employment of Europeans, etc., in Indian States	108—109
(e) Construction of tramways in Indian States	110, 123
(f) Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the attendance of the Chancellor's Secretary, etc., at the meetings of the Standing Committee	111—115
(g) Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the raising of the quorum of the Standing Committee from three to five and the filling of the place of the members of the Standing Committee in their absence by Princes next in order of voting	116—121
(h) Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding reciprocity between British India and Indian States as regards the recognition of previous convictions awarded by the Courts of other States or of British India	121—123
(i) Election of the Chancellor	123—124
(j) Election of the Standing Committee and the substitute members of the Standing Committee	124
9. Proceedings of the sixth day	125
(a) Address by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala	126—128
(b) Concluding speech by His Excellency the Viceroy	128—130
10. Resolutions passed by the Chamber of Princes	131—136

AGENDA.

CHAMBER OF PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL).

February 1928.

1. Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the death of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge.

1-A. Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Maharaja of Karauli, and the Raja of Jawhar.

2. Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharaja of Tripura.

3. To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.

4. To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala regarding his work as a representative of India at the meeting of the League of Nations in 1927.

5. To consider the recommendation of the Standing Committee in regard to the question of the construction of tramways in Indian States.

6. To consider the recommendation of the Standing Committee in regard to the question of the employment of Europeans, etc., in Indian States.

7. To consider the recommendation of the Standing Committee in regard to the question of the assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation purposes, etc.

8. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the framing by the Standing Committee of the agenda for the Chamber of Princes and the Standing Committee for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy.

9. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the attendance of the Chancellor's Secretary, etc., at the meetings of the Standing Committee.

10. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the raising of the quorum of the Standing Committee from three to five and the filling of the place of the members of the Standing Committee in their absence by Princes next in order of voting.

11. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as Chancellor.

11-A. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as Members of the Standing Committee.

12. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the fixing of the age limit for the assumption of the reins of Government at 21.

13. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding reciprocity between British India and Indian States as regards the recognition of previous convictions awarded by the courts of other States or of British India.

14. Election of the Chancellor.

15. Election of the Standing Committee.

WORK-CARD.

CHAMBER OF PRINCES (NARENDRA MANDAL).

(To be held in the Princes' Chamber, Council House, New Delhi, at 11 a.m. daily.)

February 1928.

Monday, the 20th.

1. His Excellency the Viceroy will on arrival greet the Members and Representative Members, who will be presented individually by the Chancellor.
2. His Excellency the Viceroy will deliver an address.
3. Resolution of loyalty to the Royal Throne by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
4. Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the death of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge. (Agendum No. 1.)
5. Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, and the Raja of Jawhar. (Agendum No. 1-A.)
6. Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharaja of Kishangarh, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharaja of Tripura. (Agendum No. 2.)

Tuesday, the 21st.

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala will present a report reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year. (Agendum No. 3.)
2. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the framing by the Standing Committee of the agenda for the Chamber of Princes and the Standing Committee for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy. (Agendum No. 8.)
3. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the fixing of the age limit for the assumption of the reins of Government at 21. (Agendum No. 12.)

Wednesday, the 22nd.

1. Resume debate on His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's resolution regarding the fixing of the age limit for the assumption of the reins of Government at 21. (Agendum No. 12.)

Thursday, the 23rd.

1. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner regarding reforms in Indian States.

Friday, the 24th.

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala will present a statement regarding his work as a representative of India at the meeting of the League of Nations in 1927. (Agendum No. 4.)
2. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as Chancellor (Agendum No. 11.)
3. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as members of the Standing Committee. (Agendum No. 11-A.)
4. Recommendation of the Standing Committee in regard to the question of the assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation purposes, etc. (Agendum No. 7.)
5. Recommendation of the Standing Committee in regard to the question of the employment of Europeans, etc., in Indian States. (Agendum No. 6.)
6. Construction of tramways in Indian States. (Agendum No. 5.)
7. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the attendance of the Chancellor's Secretary, etc., at the meetings of the Standing Committee. (Agendum No. 9.)
8. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the raising of the quorum of the Standing Committee from three to five and the filling of the place of the members of the Standing Committee in their absence by Princes next in order of voting. (Agendum No. 10.)
9. Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding reciprocity between British India and Indian States as regards the recognition of previous convictions awarded by the courts of other States or of British India. (Agendum No. 13.)
10. Election of the Chancellor. (Agendum No. 14.)
11. Election of the Standing Committee. (Agendum No. 15.)

Saturday, the 25th.

1. Reply of the Members and Representative Members to His Excellency's address.
2. His Excellency the Viceroy will conclude the proceedings.

Memorandum explanatory of agendum No 1.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—

That the Chamber of Princes records its profound sense of grief at the demise of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge and requests His Excellency the President to be so kind as to convey to Their Imperial Majesties the King Emperor and the Queen Empress its loyal and respectful condolence on this melancholy occasion.

Memorandum explanatoy of agendum No. 1-A.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—

That the Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the sad demise of Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli and the Raja of Jawhar, deeply deploring the loss thereby sustained by the Order of Ruling Princes of India. The Chamber offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved Ruling families.

Memorandum explanatory of agendum No. 2.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—

That the Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharaja of Tripura on their attainment of their ruling powers, welcomes them in its midst and wishes them a long and prosperous rule.

Memorandum explanatory of agendum No. 5.

Construction of tramways in Indian States.

The Summary as revised by the Standing Committee in January 1924 (Column II of the Statement attached) was accepted by the Chamber of Princes in November 1924 and was circulated for the views of Local Governments. Political Officers and Darbars in December 1924.

2. Two Darbars suggested that the important declaration contained in the opening words of clause (v) of the Summary (Column II of the Statement), regarding the sovereign right of States to construct tramways in their own territories, should be given a more prominent place, namely, at the beginning of the Summary. The Summary has been modified accordingly.

3. Slight verbal amendments have been made in clauses (ii), (iii) and (iv) in order to elucidate their exact meaning.

4. Clause (v) has been much criticised on the ground that the interests of existing lines should be safeguarded, as hitherto, and that, in the interests of good railway communications, promiscuous tramways should not be allowed to discourage the investment of capital in railway extension. This clause has, therefore, been tentatively recast. It would, however, appear that considerable further discussion is necessary regarding the exact principles on which compensation will be payable. The Political Secretary has accordingly prepared a note on this aspect of the case, a copy of which is attached to this memorandum.

5. The Summary in column III of the Statement was placed before the Standing Committee in their meeting on the 15th September 1925, when His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner suggested that as none of the members present had any direct interest or experience in the matter, it might be desirable to postpone the discussion until Princes directly interested, in particular, the Kathiawar Princes, could be present.

6. The Summary was placed before the Standing Committee on the 6th September 1926 and they considered the Political Secretary's note dated the 17th August 1925 and requested that the suggestions should be incorporated in the summary.

An alternative summary has accordingly been prepared (column IV) with the objects (a) of making the arrangements fully reciprocal and (b) of excluding tramways from liability to pay compensation in respect of either existing tramways or existing railways.

7. The following points may be noticed in connection with the alternative summary :—

- (i) The Standing Committee at their meeting on 15th September 1925 agreed that the case was not one for the assertion of a Sovereign right as the right was subject to liability for compensation in certain circumstances ; what was aimed at was reciprocity in the matter of liability for compensation. The reference to a Sovereign right has, therefore, been omitted from the preamble.
- (ii) The immunity of tramways from liability for compensation in the absence of a special agreement has been definitely laid down.
- (iii) The liability of Government and States to pay compensation when a new railway injures an old tramway in another State has been placed on a uniform footing.

- (iv) The claim of a British tramway against a new State Railway, though outside the strict scope of the summary, has been inserted in order to make the arrangement fully reciprocal.

8. The Summary in column IV of the Statement was placed before the Standing Committee in their meeting on the 14th December 1927. They approved of the Summary with the addition of the words "*for their information*" at the end of clause (V). The summary as finally revised is shewn in column V of the Statement and is for the consideration of the Chamber of Princes.

NOTE BY THE POLITICAL SECRETARY.

This is an intricate case, and I do not feel sure that the effect of the proposed changes has been fully realised.

2. The original principles were that—

- (a) a new railway should pay compensation to an old State tramway, whether the new railway was inside the State or outside it, and
- (b) a new State tramway should pay compensation to an old railway or tramway whether inside the State or outside it.

It goes without saying that in both cases, the injury for which compensation was claimed, would have to be established.

Under this system, there was complete reciprocity, subject (if the Summary is literally correct) to one exception.* A new British tramway would pay no compensation to an old State tramway. I doubt however whether this exception was intentional, or would have been acted on, and in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary, should be inclined to take the view that what was intended was as complete reciprocity as possible.

3. The revised summary admits (a) above only in cases where the new railway is on only approximately the same alignment as the old State tramway and where the new railway is constructed *by Government*. It further limits the operation of (b) above to (i) cases of such old *railways* (not tramways) as are situated inside the State and (ii) cases of old railways and tramways outside the State in regard to which there is a specific agreement.

4. The revised summary therefore excludes from provision (a) above, all cases in which the new railway is not on approximately the same alignment as the old tramway, and all cases in which the new railway is not actually constructed by Government. Thus a new railway constructed by State A could never be called on to pay compensation to an old tramway in State B.

The revised summary again excludes from provision (b), all cases in which the new State tramway injures an old railway or tramway

outside the State, unless there is a special agreement under which compensation can be claimed, and all cases in which the new tramway injures an old tramway within the State, even though the latter tramway might have been constructed by the British Government or some other State.

5. The result of the new proposals is that a new State tramway will never pay compensation.

- (1) outside the State, except where there is a special agreement protecting an old railway or tramway, and
- (2) inside the State except to an old railway, but a new railway may be called on to pay compensation to an old State tramway only
 - (i) if the railway is built by Government and not by another State, and
 - (ii) if it is on the same alignment.

6. Mr. Hadow proposes one amendment† which would have the effect of making a new railway which injures an old State tramway liable to pay compensation, even if it is not on approximately the same alignment. This amendment is clearly reasonable. Probably the effect of the new wording was not realised by the Standing Committee and the Chamber.

Mr. Hadow also suggests a provision‡ to the effect that while a new railway shall compensate an old tramway, new tramways shall not (in the absence of a special agreement) be liable to compensate old tramways or railways. Thus existing tramways would be given some protection against new railways, but ordinarily none against new tramways.

7. There is a weighty minority against departing from the original principles. It includes Morvi, a Darbar which has great experience in these matters, and (subject to limitations) Cutch. It is clearly a case for complete reciprocity, and would be greatly simplified if we could lay it down that a tramway should never pay compensation, in the absence of a special agreement. But I do not know whether States directly interested would accept this.

J. P. THOMPSON,—17-8-25.

* I note that possible claims of (a) old British tramways against new State railways and (b) old State railways against new British tramways were not dealt with. The reason must have been that the summary refers only to tramways in States. But I think it would be well to include these cases here as they are not dealt with in the Railway Summary.

† See clause (iii), column III.

‡ See clause (v), column III.

CONSTRUCTION OF TRAMWAYS, OTHER THAN PURELY URBAN TRAMWAYS, IN INDIAN STATES.

I.

Original summary prepared in the Foreign and Political Department.

The following are the principles governing the construction of tramways, other than purely urban tramways, in Indian States :—

- (i) The tramway must be wholly, within the territory of the State or States constructing it.
- (ii) The tramway must not join to any line of railway in such a manner as to permit of rolling stock being shunted from one to the other; if it does, it must be regarded as a railway and sanction will be required to its construction.
- (iii) The construction of a tramway will not affect the right of the Imperial Government to make a railway or allow a railway to be made, if the public interests demand it. In the event of such a railway adversely affecting the interests of a tramway, the question of the necessity for the payment of compensation to the owner of the tramway and of the method of payment, as well as of the amount, if any, to be paid, will be decided by the Government of India in accordance with the principles governing the payment of compensation to railways in British India. A similar course will be followed in any case in which a new Darbar tramway may adversely affect the earnings of an existing railway or tramway.
- (iv) Any State constructing a tramway should undertake to adopt and enforce proper regulations for the safe working of the line.
- (v) The grant of sanction by a Darbar for the construction of a tramway should be intimated as early as possible, for communication to the Government of India.

II.

Summary as revised by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes in January 1924.

The Indian States are entitled to construct tramways within their own territories subject to the following principles :—

- (i) If the tramway connects with any line of railway in such a manner as to permit of rolling stock being shunted from one to the other, it will be regarded as a railway and will be governed by the principles which apply to the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (ii) The existence of a tramway will not debar the construction by the Imperial Government of a railway on approximately the same alignment, in accordance with the principles laid down in clause 1 of Foreign and Political Department Resolution No. 202-I., dated the 6th December 1923, regarding the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (iii) In the event of such a railway adversely affecting the interests of a tramway, the question of the amount of compensation to the owner of the tramway and of the method of payment will be settled by mutual agreement between the Government of India and the State, or, in case of a difference, by arbitration. In the event of arbitration each party shall appoint one arbitrator. Should the arbitrators be unable to agree they shall appoint an umpire whose decision shall be final.
- (iv) A similar course will be followed in any case in which a new State tramway may adversely affect the earnings of any railway existing in that State.
- (v) Since it is the sovereign right of every State to construct tramways within its own territory to open up its country and to develop its internal resources, etc., no question of vested rights or claims for compensation for an existing tramway or railway outside the territory of the State can, in the absence of any specific agreement, arise or be admissible.
- (vi) It is understood that any State constructing a tramway will adopt and enforce proper regulations for the safe working of the line.
- (vii) The grant of sanction by a State for the construction of a tramway should be communicated to the Government of India.

III.

Summary as revised after consultation with local Governments, Political Officers and Darbars.

It is the sovereign right of every State to construct tramways within its own territory to open up its country and to develop its internal resources, etc., and the Indian States are therefore entitled to construct tramways within their own territories subject to the following principles :—

- (i) If the tramway connects with any line of railway in such a manner as to permit of rolling stock being shunted from one to the other, it will be regarded as a railway and will be governed by the principles which apply to the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (ii) The existence of a tramway will not debar the subsequent construction by the Imperial Government of a railway, even on approximately the same alignment, in accordance with the principles laid down in clause 1 of Foreign and Political Department Resolution No. 202-I., dated the 6th December 1923, regarding the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (iii) In the event of such a railway adversely affecting the interests of a previously existing tramway, the question of the amount of compensation to be paid to the owner of the tramway and of the method of payment will be settled by mutual agreement between the Government of India and the State, or, in case of a difference, by arbitration. In the event of arbitration each party shall appoint one arbitrator. Should the arbitrators be unable to agree they shall appoint an umpire whose decision shall be final.
- (iv) A similar course will be followed in any case in which a new State tramway may adversely affect the earnings of any railway previously existing in that State.
- (v) No question of vested rights or claims for compensation for a previously existing tramway or railway outside the territory of the State can, in the absence of any specific agreement, arise or be admissible when that State allows a tramway to be constructed inside its own boundaries, but the question of claims for compensation can be considered and settled on the lines mentioned in principle (iii) when a railway constructed within the boundaries of a certain State injures or is likely to injure a tramway previously existing outside the boundaries of that State.
- (vi) It is understood that any State constructing a tramway will adopt and enforce proper regulations for the safe working of the line.
- (vii) The grant of sanction by a State for the construction of a tramway should be communicated to the Government of India.

IV

Summary revised as desired by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at their meeting in September 1926.

The Indian States are entitled to construct tramways within their own territories subject to the following principles :—

- (i) If the tramway connects with any line of railway in such a manner as to permit of rolling stock being shunted from one to the other, it will be regarded as a railway and will be governed by the principles which apply to the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (ii) The existence of a tramway will not debar the subsequent construction of a railway either by Government or by a State, even on approximately the same alignment, in accordance with the principles laid down in Foreign and Political Department Resolution No. 202-I., dated the 6th December 1923, regarding the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (iii) The payment of compensation will be governed by the following principles :
 - (a) In the absence of a special agreement a new tramway will never be called upon to pay compensation to an existing tramway or railway.
 - (b) In the event of a railway constructed either by Government or by another State adversely affecting the interests of a previously existing tramway, the question of the amount of compensation to be paid to the owner of the tramway and of the method of payment will be settled by mutual agreement between the Government of India and the State in the case of a railway constructed by Government, or, in case of a difference by arbitration. In the event of arbitration each party shall appoint one arbitrator. Should the arbitrators be unable to agree they shall appoint an umpire whose decision shall be final. If the new railway is constructed by a State the question of compensation will be decided by the Government of India, or, if the States concerned agree, by arbitration, in accordance with the method detailed above.
 - (c) The above principles will apply to a claim by a tramway constructed in British India for compensation in respect of a new railway constructed in a State.
- (iv) It is understood that any State constructing a tramway will adopt and enforce proper regulations for the safe working of the line.
- (v) The grant of sanction by a State for the construction of a tramway should be communicated to the Government of India.

V

Summary revised by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at their meeting in December 1927.

The Indian States are entitled to construct tramways within their own territories subject to the following principles :—

- (i) If the tramway connects with any line of railway in such a manner as to permit of rolling stock being shunted from one to the other, it will be regarded as a railway and will be governed by the principles which apply to the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (ii) The existence of a tramway will not debar the subsequent construction of a railway either by Government or by a State, even on approximately the same alignment, in accordance with the principles laid down in Foreign and Political Department Resolution No. 202-I., dated the 6th December 1923, regarding the construction of railways in Indian States.
- (iii) The payment of compensation will be governed by the following principles :
 - (a) In the absence of a special agreement a new tramway will never be called upon to pay compensation to an existing tramway or railway.
 - (b) In the event of a railway constructed either by Government or by another State adversely affecting the interests of a previously existing tramway, the question of the amount of compensation to be paid to the owner of the tramway and of the method of payment will be settled by mutual agreement between the Government of India and the State in the case of a railway constructed by Government, or, in case of a difference by arbitration. In the event of arbitration each party shall appoint one arbitrator. Should the arbitrators be unable to agree they shall appoint an umpire whose decision shall be final. If the new railway is constructed by a State the question of compensation will be decided by the Government of India, or, if the States concerned agree, by arbitration, in accordance with the method detailed above.
 - (c) The above principles will apply to a claim by a tramway constructed in British India for compensation in respect of a new railway constructed in a State.
- (iv) It is understood that any State constructing a tramway will adopt and enforce proper regulations for the safe working of the line.
- (v) The grant of sanction by a State for the construction of a tramway should be communicated to the Government of India, for their information.

Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 6.

Employment of European British subjects and aliens in Indian States.

In January 1920, a summary of the existing policy of the Government of India in the matter of the employment of European British subjects, British Government servants or pensioners, and aliens in Indian States (*vide* the first column of the attached statement) was placed before the Committee of Princes as a basis for discussion. The recommendations of the Committee were circulated to local Governments, Indian States and Political Officers for their views thereon, and summaries of the replies received were placed before the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at a meeting held on the 18th August 1924, for further consideration. The second column of the attached statement contains the summary revised as recommended by the Committee.

This revised summary, which was accepted by the Chamber of Princes at its session in November 1924, was circulated to local Governments for transmission to Darbars of States whose rulers are Members of the Chamber of Princes, and to representative Members, for their views. The views of local Governments and administrations were also invited.

The Government of India after careful consideration of the replies drew up a revised summary (*vide* 3rd column of the attached statement) for discussion by the Standing Committee. The fourth column of the attached statement contains the summary as recommended by the Committee at their meetings held on 13th and 16th December 1927.

EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN BRITISH SUBJECTS, PENSIONERS, AND ALIENS IN INDIAN STATES.

I

Original Summary placed before the Committee of Princes in January 1920, as a basis for discussion.

I. The obligation to obtain the prior approval of the Government of India to the employment of Europeans, the only aliens whose employment was at the time contemplated, dates from the 18th Century, and is provided for in treaties with many of the most important States, ranging from 1766 to 1881. Some treaties stipulate that the employment even of British Indian subjects requires the approval of Government. The Government of India has consistently required the observance of this obligation where imposed by treaty, and in the case of other States it has been regarded as a generally accepted, essential principle. Originally the stipulation was made in Imperial interests, at a time when the rivalry of European powers was an important factor in the politics of India. At a later date the protection of the interests of the States against adventurers came into prominence.

II. So far from entertaining objection to the employment of European British subjects or aliens by Indian States, the Government of India have every desire to encourage measures calculated to benefit the States but the restriction is still required in Imperial interests in the case of European British subjects, of British Government servants and pensioners and of all aliens, whether European, Asian, African or American, because—

- (1) The development of potentially hostile influences in the Indian States is still a possibility which cannot be ignored ;
- (2) The Government of India are responsible to other nations for the treatment of their nationals in Indian States ;
- (3) They are in a position to obtain fuller information than the Darbars regarding the antecedents of European British subjects and aliens, a matter of importance in view of the danger of Bolshevik or other foreign intrigue ;
- (4) They have a special interest in the welfare of European British subjects as being their own nationals, and of their own servants and pensioners of whatever nationality.

III. The present procedure is as follows :—

- (1) The Government of India desire that Darbars before taking into their employment temporarily or permanently a European British subject, a British Government servant or pensioner, of whatever nationality, or the subject of any Foreign Power should obtain through the usual political channel the approval of the authority empowered by the rules of the Government of India from time to time in force to give it.
- (2) The Government of India do not desire to be consulted regarding the employment of Indian pensioners as sepoys or menials, or in any purely ministerial capacity, or regarding extensions of service or increases to emoluments of persons other than Government servants or pensioners, engaged after consultation with them.

II

Summary as revised by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at their meeting in August 1924, and accepted by the Chamber of Princes at its session in November 1924.

Policy of the Government of India regarding the employment in Indian States of European British subjects, pensioners and aliens, other than those to whom the Foreign Service Rules apply :—

- (1) The consent of the Government of India is required for the employment in Indian States of—
 - (a) Europeans and Americans on a salary exceeding Rs. 900 a month,
 - (b) Retired Members of the Indian Civil Service, or of the Political Department of the Government of India,
 - (c) Retired British Officers of the Army employed by States, in a military capacity, and
 - (d) Aliens in any capacity.

The Government of India should be informed as soon as possible of the engagement of Europeans and Americans below the salary limit above specified.

- (2) In cases of emergency there is no objection to provisional appointments being made by Ruling Princes and Chiefs subject to the subsequent consent of Government which will be asked for as soon as possible.
- (3) Subject to clause (1) above there is no restriction on the employment in Indian States of Indian pensioners.
- (4) The consent of the Government of India will not be required in the case of the temporary engagement of professional people, such as barristers, doctors, nurses, etc., on payment of the usual fees.

III

Revised summary of the principles governing the employment of European British subjects, pensioners and aliens in Indian States, prepared after consultation with local Governments, Political Officers, and Darbars.

Policy of the Government of India regarding the employment in Indian States of European British subjects, pensioners and aliens, other than those to whom the Foreign Service Rules apply :—

- (1) The consent of the Government of India is required for the employment in Indian States of—
 - (a) **European British subjects** on a salary exceeding Rs. 500 a month,
 - (b) Retired Members of the Indian Civil Service, or of the Political Department of the Government of India,
 - (c) Retired British officers of the Army employed by States in a military capacity, and
 - (d) Aliens (including Americans) in any capacity.

The Government of India should be informed as soon as possible of the engagement of **European British subjects** below the salary limit above specified. Such particulars as are available regarding these persons should be communicated at the same time.

In all cases where the consent of the Government of India is necessary, and is accorded, its further consent should be obtained in any case where a State contemplates a substantial change in the nature of the employment for which consent was originally sought.

In all cases, whether the consent of the Government of India is necessary or not, the Government of India will have the right to require a Darbar to discontinue the services of any person whom Government may consider undesirable.

- (2) In cases of emergency there is no objection to provisional appointments being made by Ruling Princes and Chiefs, subject to the subsequent consent of Government which will be asked for as soon as possible.
- (3) Subject to clause (1) above there is no restriction on the employment in Indian States of Indian pensioners.
- (4) The consent of the Government of India will not be required in the case of the temporary engagement of professional people, such as barristers, doctors, nurses, etc., on payment of the usual fees.

IV

Summary of the principles governing the employment of European British subjects, pensioners and aliens in Indian States, as revised by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at their meeting in December 1927.

Policy of the Government of India regarding the employment in Indian States of European British subjects, pensioners and aliens other than those to whom the Foreign Service Rules apply :—

1. The consent of the Government of India is required for the employment in Indian States of—
 - (a) **European British subjects** on a salary exceeding Rs. 700 a month,
 - (b) Retired Members of the Indian Civil Service, or of the Political Department of the Government of India,
 - (c) Retired British Officers of the Army employed by States in a military capacity, and
 - (d) Aliens (including Americans) in any capacity.

The Government of India should be informed as soon as possible of the engagement of **European British subjects** below the salary limit above specified. Such particulars as are available regarding these persons should be communicated at the same time.

2. In all cases where a retired officer of the Indian Political Department has been employed by an Indian State with the consent of the Government of India no substantial change in the nature of his duties should be made without the further consent of the Government of India.

3. In cases of emergency there is no objection to provisional appointments being made by Ruling Princes and Chiefs, subject to the subsequent consent of Government which will be asked for as soon as possible.
4. Subject to clause (1) above there is no restriction on the employment in Indian States of Indian pensioners.
5. The consent of the Government of India will not be required in the case of the temporary engagement of professional people, such as barristers, doctors, nurses, etc., on payment of the usual fees.

Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 7.

Assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works and works connected with or subsidiary to them.

The Summary on the above subject as prepared by the Government of India (Column I of the Enclosure to this Memorandum) was placed before the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes on the 14th December 1927. The Committee considered that the words "if the circumstances warrant it" in the fourth sentence of Clause I of the Summary were redundant, and should be omitted. Apart from this amendment the proposals were approved. The Summary as amended in the light of the suggestion of the Standing Committee (Column II of the Enclosure to this Memorandum) is now for the approval of the Chamber of Princes.

Agendum No.

Assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works and Works connected with or subsidiary to them.

SUMMARY AS PREPARED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

I

The following principles shall be observed in the assessment of compensation for the acquisition of land in State territory for Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works and works connected with or subsidiary to them, undertaken by a Local Government in British India and *vice versa*, provided all parties concerned have previously agreed to the construction of the works:—

I. When land in British territory is required by or at the expense of an Indian State, such land as is in private ownership will be acquired by the British revenue authorities as for a public purpose, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. The State will be required to pay, as compensation for the land made over to it, the actual amount of the awards paid in the case of private land, and, in the case of Government land, the full market value *plus* such incidental items of expenditure as the cost of establishment, demarcation, stationery. The State will also be required to pay compensation for the value of extinguished land revenue, the amount to be settled by negotiation in individual cases, due regard being had to the indirect advantages accruing to the British Government from the works, etc. In cases which involve the submergence of considerable areas, compensation for the loss of miscellaneous revenue derived from such areas may, if the circumstances warrant it, be payable in addition. Where differences of opinion occur between the State concerned and the local revenue authorities as to the compensation payable a Board of Arbitration will be appointed consisting of one member appointed by the State, another by the Government of India (or by the Local Government in the case of a State which is in direct relations with a Local Government), and a third member appointed by mutual consent and their decision shall be final.

II. Before making an award in the case of private land in British territory to be acquired for a State, or fixing the amount of compensation in the case of Government land, the responsible officer will be required to send all necessary details, together with the estimates of the amounts payable, to the State and to give every facility for checking them to the officer or the officers concerned for the purpose, and to take into consideration any representation which such officer or any other duly accredited representative of the Darbar may make,

SUMMARY AS REVISED BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE IN DECEMBER 1927.

II

The following principles shall be observed in the assessment of compensation for the acquisition of land in State territory for Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works and works connected with or subsidiary to them, undertaken by a Local Government in British India and *vice versa*, provided all parties concerned have previously agreed to the construction of the works:—

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I

whether orally or by letter. Such officers or representatives should be afforded an opportunity of appearing in person or by agent and of producing evidence as to the value of the land before any award relating to it is made or the amount of compensation is fixed.

III. When land is required in State territory the general principle to be observed shall be that the same degree of compensation shall be paid to the State concerned as is payable by States under the provisions of the preceding clauses. In the case of those States and Estates who under the terms of their Treaties, Sanads and any other existing contracts are bound to provide any facilities or land in their territories free of cost, the question whether compensation will be paid or not will be left for negotiation between the political authorities and the State concerned.

IV. In order to give effect to these general principles, the following procedure shall be observed:—

In cases in which it is proposed to acquire private rights in land in a State, the proceedings, where the State concerned has enacted a Land Acquisition Act, will be under that law and the provisions of clause II will apply *mutatis mutandis*. Where there is no Land Acquisition Act or where the State itself owns or has rights in the land, which it is proposed to acquire the estimates of the amount payable will be framed by the State authorities and forwarded to the Local Government concerned, who will be afforded the facilities specified in clause II for checking the estimate. If such estimates are accepted by the Local Government, they will be treated as a settlement. Where, however, differences of opinion occur between the State authorities and the Local Government concerned, as to the compensation payable, arbitration will take place. If both parties signify in writing their consent to such a course the Political Officer, concerned will be appointed as arbiter and his decision shall be final. In other cases the compensation payable shall be assessed by a Board of Arbitration consisting of one member appointed by the State, another by the Government of India or the Local Government in the case of a State which is in direct relations with a Local Government, and a third member appointed by mutual consent, and their decision shall be final. In these latter cases the Board of Arbitration will decide the incidence of the cost of arbitration.

V. In determining the amount of compensation payable, Political Officers and other arbiters will be guided by the general principle that the amount shall

II

whether orally or by letter. Such officers or representatives should be afforded an opportunity of appearing in person or by agent and of producing evidence as to the value of the land before any award relating to it is made or the amount of compensation is fixed.

III. When land is required in State territory the general principle to be observed shall be that the same degree of compensation shall be paid to the State concerned as is payable by States under the provisions of the preceding clauses. In the case of those States and Estates who under the terms of their Treaties, Sanads and any other existing contracts are bound to provide any facilities or land in their territories free of cost, the question whether compensation will be paid or not will be left for negotiation between the political authorities and the State concerned.

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V. In determining the amount of compensation payable, Political Officers and other arbiters will be guided by the general principle that the amount shall

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be equivalent to what would have been payable by the State had acquisition taken place in British territory and had compensation been assessed in the manner laid down in clause I *supra*.

VI. When a work is constructed by a State or States in British territory the State or States concerned will have precisely the same rights as authorities in charge of Government works in British territory in the matter of quarrying stone or excavating material required for the purposes of, or in connection with, the work.

VII. When a work is constructed in State territory, the general principle to be observed will be that the authorities in charge of the work shall enjoy the same rights as regards quarrying stone or excavating material as they would be entitled to in British territory, the rates of royalty, if any, payable being determined in accordance with the rules in force in the State. In cases where there are no such rules, or where the authorities in charge of the work consider that the rates under State rules are unduly high, resort will be had to arbitration in the manner provided in clause IV above.

VIII. Where land is required for temporary occupation, the procedure in British India will be under part VI of the Land Acquisition Act, and in States in which a law on the same lines is in force, under that law. In cases where there is no such law, the terms of occupation and use will be settled by mutual agreement; and in case of dispute as to the terms, by arbitration in the manner prescribed in clause IV.

II

be equivalent to what would have been payable by the State had acquisition taken place in British territory and had compensation been assessed in the manner laid down in clause I *supra*.

VI. When a work is constructed by a State or States in British territory the State or States concerned will have precisely the same rights as authorities in charge of Government works in British territory in the matter of quarrying stone or excavating material required for the purposes of, or in connection with, the work.

VII. When a work is constructed in State territory, the general principle to be observed will be that the authorities in charge of the work shall enjoy the same rights as regards quarrying stone or excavating material as they would be entitled to in British territory, the rates of royalty, if any, payable being determined in accordance with the rules in force in the State. In cases where there are no such rules, or where the authorities in charge of the work consider that the rates under State rules are unduly high, resort will be had to arbitration in the manner provided in clause IV above.

VIII. Where land is required for temporary occupation, the procedure in British India will be under part VI of the Land Acquisition Act, and in States in which a law on the same lines is in force, under that law. In cases where there is no such law, the terms of occupation and use will be settled by mutual agreement; and in case of dispute as to the terms, by arbitration in the manner prescribed in clause IV.

Memorandum explanatory of agendum No. 8.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir :—

That this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that its Standing Committee should be empowered to frame its own agenda and the agenda of the Chamber, for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Memorandum explanatory of agenda No. 9.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir :—

That this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy—

- (a) that the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor should invariably attend all meetings of the Standing Committee and speak whenever invited to do so by any member of the Standing Committee ;
 - (b) that any expert adviser or advisers whom Their Highnesses on the Standing Committee may select for special or technical purposes should be entitled to attend meetings of the Standing Committee whenever any experts or advisers of the Government of India attend such meetings and on such occasions they should be entitled to address the meeting at the request of any member of the Standing Committee.
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Memorandum explanatory of agendum No. 10.

The following Resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir:—

That this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy—

(a) that the quorum of the Standing Committee be raised from three to five;

(b) that after the Standing Committee has been elected, the Chamber should proceed to elect a panel of six other Members to be Substitute Members of the Standing Committee;

(c) that in the unavoidable absence of any Members of the Standing Committee, Members of the Chamber who have been elected Substitute Members of the Standing Committee, should be requested by His Highness the Chancellor in the order of the votes they receive to attend in the places thus temporarily vacant.

Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. 11.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—

That the Narendra Mandal recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that the following be substituted for the last sentence of Rule 7, in Appendix A to the First Regulations of the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes, relating to the election of the Chancellor :—

“The number of votes recorded for each Member shall, at the time of declaring the result of election, be announced on the floor of the Chamber”.

Memorandum explanatory of Agendum No. 11-A.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar:—

That the Narendra Mandal recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that the following be substituted for the last sentence of Rule 7, in Appendix B to the First Regulations of the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes, relating to the election of the Standing Committee:—

“The number of votes recorded for each Member shall, at the time of declaring the result of election, be announced on the floor of the Chamber”

Memorandum explanatory of agendum No. 12.

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar :—

That this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that, in order to ensure complete education and administrative training both in and outside the State to minor Princes, and to remove the present uncertainty and consequent anxiety on the point, the age limit for the assumption of the reins of Government be hereafter fixed definitely at 21.

Memorandum Explanatory of Agendum No. 14

The following resolution will be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala :—

That this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that for the purposes of section 75 of the Indian Penal Code previous convictions by Courts of Indian States should be recognised by the Government of India on the clear understanding that the Indian States would in their turn recognise previous convictions by British Indian Courts.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST DAY.

February 20th, 1928.

The Chamber assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 A.M., on Monday, the 20th February, 1928. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

Baroda.

His Highness the Maharaja (Gaekwar) of Baroda.

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Central India.

The Rao of Alipura.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bijawar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch).

His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Bombay.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhore.

The Raja of Chhota Udepur (Minor).

The Chief of Jamkhandi.

His Highness the Mir of Khairpur.

His Highness the Chief of Sangli.

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

The Thakor Saheb of Limbdi.

The Thakor Saheb of Palitana.

His Highness the Maharaja Rana Saheb of Porbandar.

His Highness the Raja Saheb of Wankaner.

Punjab States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Raja of Suket.

Central Provinces.

The Raja of Korea.

The Ruling Chief of Nandgaon.

Punjab.

The Rana of Baghat.

The Raja of Kalsia.

United Provinces.

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

On arrival and after greeting the Ruling Princes and Chiefs present His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following speech :—

YOUR HIGHNESSES,

I take great pleasure in welcoming Your Highnesses to-day to the seventh session of the Narendra Mandal. It is the second over which I have had the honour to preside and the first to be held in this building, where it will hereafter be permanently located. I trust that Your Highnesses will find the Chamber comfortable and convenient, and that for long years to come it will see the annual gatherings of your Order.

Fifteen months have elapsed since our last session and during the year 1927 there was no meeting of the Chamber. This was because on this occasion, in accordance with the expressed wish of Your Highnesses, it has been decided to hold the meeting in February rather than in November. I recognise advantages in the change, and I regret only that one factor may have caused inconvenience to some of Your Highnesses. For, since the Indian Legislature is also in session in February, we have been unable to place at your disposal the residential accommodation that would otherwise have been available. It may be that this has caused the falling off in attendance which I am sorry to notice this year. I trust that when the houses which some of Your Highnesses are building in Delhi are completed, the difficulty of accommodation will be to some extent removed, and I may again be able to address a fully representative Chamber.

Death has again taken toll among our members and some who might have been with us to-day have passed away. Two of them belonged to an older generation of Rulers, now fast disappearing, and were links with a past, which though not distant in time, is already becoming historic. His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi had ruled for 37 years before his lamented death last summer. He was a loyal and steadfast friend of the British Government as was testified by the honours bestowed upon him by His Majesty the King-Emperor. Remote among his jungle fastnesses he saw little of modern change, and only once attended a meeting of this Chamber. Your Highnesses will, I know, wish to join me in expressing sympathy with the bereaved family. I would extend the same sympathy to the family of His late Highness the Maharaja of Karauli. Like the late Maharao Raja of Bundi, His late Highness of Karauli belonged to an old school, whose numbers are diminishing year by year, and by those who knew him, he will long be remembered as the true type of Rajput gentleman and sportsman. I must refer also with regret to the late Raja of Jawhar who on more than one occasion attended sessions of this Chamber.

Yet another change has to be recorded in the membership of this Chamber owing to the abdication of His Highness the Raja of Bilaspur, who has been constrained by the weight of age and ill-health to give up his responsibilities as Ruler of his State. I would wish him many years of happy retirement and trust that his son who succeeds him will prove worthy of his high position.

In addressing Your Highnesses at the opening session of the Chamber 15 months ago, I referred to the special importance of the problem of the relations of the States with the Government of India, and indicated my desire to hold frank and friendly discussions on the topic with Your Highnesses' Standing Committee. The Chamber approved, and, in pursuance of your wishes and mine, conversations were held between us in Simla last summer when many aspects of this question were subjected to preliminary examination and discussion. The free interchange of views that there took place has been of value, certainly to myself, and I trust also to the Princes who took part in them. In the course of those conversations it became clear to me that, if and when larger proposals involving wide changes in the present relationship between British India and the States fell to be actively considered, it would be of real importance that many matters of immediate relevance should have been previously examined.

Many of Your Highnesses expressed doubts regarding some aspects of your legal position *vis-a-vis* the Government of India and the Crown, and it seemed proper that steps should be taken by which these doubts might be resolved. It also appeared desirable to explore possible means of removing the uncertainty which many felt regarding a number of economic and financial questions where the interests of both British India and the States were evidently concerned. Upon my recommendation therefore, in which I think I was acting in accordance with Your Highnesses' desires, a small expert Committee has been appointed by His Majesty's Secretary of State to examine these questions, and as Your Highnesses are aware, it assembled here last month and is now in the midst of its labours. I am happy to believe that its *personnel* has been generally approved by, and will command the confidence of, Your Highnesses.

The terms of reference to the Committee are known to you, and on all points lying within them it is of course open to Your Highnesses to express your views as fully and comprehensively as you may desire. I have become aware of some anxiety on the part of Your Highnesses lest the Committee's time in India may be too short to enable your representations to be properly prepared or to be adequately considered. I can assure Your Highnesses that I no less than yourselves desire that ample opportunity should be given for a full appreciation of your position on all relevant issues. In this I think you can safely rely on the sound sense and sympathy of the Committee itself, and Your Highnesses may rest assured that the Members of that Committee will share my desire that means may be devised which will permit you to place them in full possession of your views.

I do not wish, and it would be improper for me, to attempt any forecast of what the findings of the Committee may be. But Your Highnesses will agree that its appointment is a landmark in the history of our relations. Changing conditions bring changing needs, and if we are to move forward with wisdom and foresight, we should start with full and mutual appreciation of the various factors in a very complex problem. I accordingly appeal to all Your Highnesses to give close and earnest thought to these subjects, and to present your reasoned opinions to the Committee without reserve, for the happy and successful issue of this enquiry will depend in large measure on the thoughtful co-operation and good-will of the Princes' Order.

I have spoken more than once recently of the great importance at this juncture of Your Highnesses being able to meet any criticism that may be brought against the quality of your various administrations, and I make no apology for emphasising this once more. At a time when constitutional changes are under consideration in British India, it is inevitable that much attention should be directed, both in the press and on the public platform, to conditions in the States. However ill-judged may sometimes be their conclusions and however unjust their criticism, there is underlying truth in the contention that the progress of all India must depend in some measure on the advance made in the States. The form of government may be of less importance than the spirit that inspires it and many States, as I gratefully acknowledge, have shown that they appreciate the modern ideals of good administration and strive within the resources at their disposal to attain to them. But there are others where it is not so, and where the reproach that the Ruler employs his revenues largely or even primarily for personal pleasures is not entirely without foundation. Such cases are harmful to the States in these days of publicity far beyond their immediate circle, and the Princes who are responsible for misgovernment or scandal, besides failing to discharge their duty to their subjects, do grave disservice to their Order.

Since I last met Your Highnesses I have been privileged to travel widely among your States, to see the working of your administrations, and to view the mighty strongholds of your famous ancestors. My experience has enabled me to feel more keenly even than before the atmosphere of romance and chivalry in which your Houses were founded, and to realise the strenuous endeavour, high courage and selfless devotion that have marked so many pages

in your histories. I can now appreciate better their importance in the record of India and can understand the old Indian ideal of Kingship exercised in consultation with loyal nobles and a contented people. Your Highnesses have great traditions and are the inheritors of fine and noble qualities. You have been trained to rule and should possess the vital forces that inspired your fighting forefathers. The days of internal strife are happily over and the energy, courage and foresight that gave your ancestors victory on many a hard-won field can now be diverted to promote the peaceful progress and development of your States and people. It is for Your Highnesses in these critical days to maintain and enhance the name of your ancient and honourable dynasties, and to show that the Prince may be in the fullest sense the servant of his people and the wise custodian of their best interests. In all measures to these ends you may count upon me for advice and assistance whenever you may seek them.

Since our last meeting, India has been blessed by a good and plentiful monsoon, and most States have shared in the general prosperity. Floods in Gujerat and Kathiawar have however caused severe losses in some of the States of Western India. They serve to remind us how precarious are the conditions of agriculture, and how necessary it is to adopt all possible measures for the welfare and prosperity of the agriculturist. We may soon expect the report of the Royal Commission on this most vital subject, and I trust that Your Highnesses will give its recommendations your earnest attention. Both in fighting against difficulties and in securing the spread of improved methods, success will be more certain if the States co-operate whole-heartedly with the neighbouring Provinces in British India.

This leads me to a further matter on which I would ask your help. The Government of India have appointed a Committee to examine the desirability of developing the Road system of India, and the means by which such development can be most suitably promoted and financed. After the Committee have submitted their report, it may be found desirable to invite the co-operation of the States in any scheme of through road communications which may be recommended. With the development of motor transport the value of a good road system for the convenience of passengers and marketing of produce has enormously increased and any sound scheme will, I am certain, command the enlightened support of Your Highnesses.

It will be in Your Highnesses' recollection that at the session held in November 1926, I announced the intention of the Government of India to convene a Conference in order to discuss the various aspects of the opium problem in so far as it affected Indian States. I then appealed for the co-operation of Durbars in our endeavours to solve this problem of world-wide significance. A Conference was accordingly held at Simla in May last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Das. The discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of the frankest mutual understanding and the results were decidedly encouraging. It was agreed that the whole subject should be fully investigated, and it was recommended that a Committee on which the Durbars concerned were duly represented should be appointed for the purpose. It was proposed that this Committee should visit the States that were interested and should enquire thoroughly into local conditions. The recommendations of the Conference were accepted by the Government of India, and the Committee is now engaged in its investigations. I have every hope that by this means we shall succeed in arriving at conclusions which will be found acceptable to all parties concerned.

A further question which has a bearing on international relations is that of the Slavery Convention, which the Government of India have undertaken to bring to the notice of the States. Slavery in the ordinary sense is not now practised in any State, but in dealing with all customs involving forced labour, I trust that Your Highnesses will do your utmost, both by educating public opinion and by your own action, to prove that you are in sympathy with the ideals underlying the Convention.

At the session held in November 1924, His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar moved a Resolution recommending the exemption of all Members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right from the payment of customs duties on articles imported for their personal use, a privilege now enjoyed by Ruling Princes whose dynastic salute is not less than 19 guns. This Resolution was carried, and at the time my predecessor said that the matter must form the subject of further examination before the Government of India could accept the views thus put forward. He however undertook that it would receive the most careful consideration. The Government of India and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India have given full weight to the importance which Your Highnesses attach to the matter, but the conclusion at which they have arrived is that the matter is not one that can be considered apart from the general question of the fiscal relations between the Government of India and the Durbars, which is one of the questions under investigation by the Indian States Committee.

I would refer again to the important problem of the 'future of the Chiefs' Colleges. My Government has now formulated proposals which are being considered by the Governing Bodies of the Colleges concerned. Their views will be carefully examined before decisions are finally reached, and I would urge Your Highnesses to give early and earnest attention to our scheme. The proposals are tentative only and subject of course to modification in the light of your criticisms, but it is in the evident interests of all the Colleges that an early settlement should be reached; since while doubt and uncertainty exist, it is difficult to recruit the right type of Masters on which the success of these institutions must inevitably depend.

Your Highnesses, as I hope, will agree that the programme before you at this session contains a variety of important items and gives promise of interesting and useful debates. Although there has been only one meeting of the Standing Committee, it has been able to carry some of its discussions to successful conclusions and three of the Summaries, which have been under examination for some time, are now ready for presentation to the Chamber.

One relating to the employment of Europeans and aliens in the States has behind it the unanimous opinion of those who attended the Standing Committee and may be expected to receive Your Highnesses' approval. A similar unanimity supports that relating to the question of the assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation and navigation purposes. The remaining Summary on the difficult question of the construction of tramways in the States is supported by a majority vote only on certain points of considerable practical importance. Its ventilation in the Chamber will enable those Princes, who have personal experience of and are directly interested in the question, to express their views before recommendations are made by Your Highnesses.

Other items of your Agenda contain proposals involving modifications in the existing Rules of Business. Your Highnesses will realise that such changes should not be lightly undertaken, and I shall listen to their discussion with interest. I would only say at this stage that any measures tending to add to the interest of the discussions in the Chamber are assured of my sympathetic consideration.

I notice one item at least which should not fail in this characteristic, the Resolution to be moved by His Highness of Alwar on the education and training of minor Princes. It is a question of the greatest moment on which widely divergent views are held by people of great intelligence and long experience. It is therefore eminently appropriate for full and exhaustive discussion by Your Highnesses, and I look forward to receiving from the debate much that will be of value to me in dealing with this very difficult problem.

For the second time His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has been a representative of India at the League of Nations, and we are to have the privilege of listening to his report on his activities at its annual Assembly. I am happy to hear from other sources that he has confirmed and

heightened the favourable impression made on the last occasion. The readiness, with which His Highness, like others of your Order, who have attended the League, has lent his time and labours to its deliberations is gratifying evidence that the Princes of India are willing, whenever occasion requires them, to subordinate personal convenience to promoting the best interests of India and the Empire.

It will also fall to Your Highnesses to elect the Chancellor and the Standing Committee of the Chamber for the ensuing year, bearing in mind that the retiring office-holders are eligible for re-election. Your Highnesses will doubtless wish to express your appreciation of the energy and efficiency that have marked the tenure of his high and responsible office by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. He has been a watchful custodian of your interests while displaying promptness and courtesy in the conduct of business with my Secretariat. Owing to various reasons only one formal meeting of the Standing Committee was held during the year. Your Highnesses will not however deduce from this that the members have been remiss in their duties. Collectively and individually they have on many informal occasions discussed with me matters affecting Your Highnesses, and I am deeply grateful for the advice and assistance they have given me.

I wish Your Highnesses God-speed in your deliberations, both within this Chamber and without it. The times are momentous and demand clear thinking and wise prevision from all whose hands may shape the destinies of India. You in the States and we in British India are faced by many complex and far-reaching problems, but if we mutually deal with them in a spirit of friendly co-operation and wise statesmanship, we shall assuredly discover reasonable and successful solutions.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, I have received a request to suspend the standing orders in order to enable a resolution to be moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. That I have no doubt will command Your Highnesses' general assent and I would therefore propose, if the Chamber agrees, to ask him to read his resolution and invite you thereafter formally to give your assent to the suspension of the standing order.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; it is my privilege to propose on this day, the first occasion when we meet in this new Chamber hall, a resolution which appropriately, correctly and as it is meet, is addressed to the person of His Majesty the King Emperor, the Sovereign of the Great British Empire. My resolution is such that I feel it does not require many words of preface to propose it and therefore on this historic occasion, this important occasion I propose the following resolution :--

“ As this is the first occasion on which the Princes meet in their new Chamber hall in Delhi, of which the first stone was laid by the hands of His Majesty the King Emperor, the Narendra Mandal resolves that the expression of the members of the Narendra Mandal of abiding loyalty and attachment to the Royal Throne may be respectfully conveyed by His Excellency the Viceroy as the President of the Chamber to His Majesty.”

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur: I support the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, giving expression to the sentiments of loyalty and devotion of the Ruling Princes to the Imperial Crown.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Before I put the resolution, may I ask Your Highnesses formally to signify your assent to the suspension of the standing orders?

(Hands were raised.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: Thank you. Does any other Member of the Chamber desire to support the motion?

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I beg to support it.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I undertake to convey Your Highnesses' message to His Majesty the King Emperor.

Agendum No 1.

Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the death of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to discharge a painful duty which is to give expression to the sentiments of grief and sorrow at the sad demise of His late Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge.

Your Excellency, the Princes of India, who have always shared with their august Sovereign the joys and sorrows of His House, feel as their own, the grief that His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Empress had to sustain. May I, therefore, beg you in the name of the whole Order of Princes to be so good as to convey our heartfelt condolences and sympathies to Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen Empress as embodied in the resolution which I will now read:—

“That the Chamber of Princes records its profound sense of grief at the demise of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge and requests His Excellency the President to be so kind as to convey to Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen Empress its loyal and respectful condolences on this melancholy occasion.”

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I desire to associate myself with the resolution which has been moved by His Highness the Chancellor, who has in my judgment correctly voiced the feelings of all of us here. The position which the Royal Family of England occupies in the hearts of the Indian Princes has, so far as I know, no parallel in history. It has been our privilege on many occasions to show our devotion to the King-Emperor by deeds as well as by words; while we on our part feel that His Majesty and all the Members of the Royal Family have the most genuine kindness, sympathy and affection for the Indian Princes in their joys and sorrows, and the Royal Family's joys and sorrows are our joys and sorrows. And just as it has been our privilege on more than one occasion to voice our keen pleasure on occasions of joy, so we feel it at once our duty to offer our respectful condolence on this occasion of sorrow. I associate myself entirely with all that the previous speaker has said and I trust Your Excellency will be pleased to convey our message of sympathy to the Royal Family in the grievous loss which they have suffered.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; as one who had the privilege of knowing the late Marquess of Cambridge, eldest brother of our gracious Queen Empress, I desire respectfully to be associated with this tribute of respect to his memory and with this resolution of condolence for the Imperial Family.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Are there any other of Your Highnesses desiring to speak? You have heard the resolution of condolence proposed by His Highness the Chancellor. May I ask those who agree to signify their assent?

(All the members of the Chamber gave their assent to the resolution which was passed unanimously.)

Agendum No. 1-A.

Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Maharaja of Karauli, and the Raja of Jawhar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; during the 15 months that have elapsed since our last meeting the hand of death has been busy amongst the members of our Order, and no fewer than three Ruling Princes have passed away including some very staunch supporters. Those who are no longer with us are Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli and the Raja of Jawhar. In their respective spheres, the departed Princes have left impressions of unique personalities and our reverent tribute of admiration and affection is due to the memory of all the three. I, therefore, feel it my duty to move the following resolution:—

“That the Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the sad demise of Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Maharaja of Karauli and the Raja of Jawhar, deeply deploring the loss thereby sustained by the Order of Ruling Princes of India. The Chamber offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved Ruling Families.”

We shall long be conscious of the gaps caused in our Order by the removal of personalities of such wisdom and charm, but such is after all human destiny and we have to submit to the will of the Almighty in perfect peace and resignation. We pray the Almighty may grant their souls perfect peace and bliss, and the bereaved families, strength to bear their losses bravely and cheerfully.

Your Highnesses, His Highness the late Maharao Raja of Bundi held the reins of power for the lengthy period of 45 years—a record which any one may rightly envy. During his life-time, he was a staunch follower of the old ways and orthodox thoughts. We mourn his loss not only as one who ruled most successfully, but as one who, although not a regular contributor to our deliberations, evinced very keen sympathy with us in our work.

His Highness the late Maharaja of Karauli was also, like His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi, a Prince of old-fashioned ideas and a flower of Rajput chivalry. His was also a long and peaceful reign spreading over more than 40 years. Although he cherished his own notions and convictions and did not join us in our deliberations in this House, he nevertheless realised the supreme importance and necessity of the existence of this deliberative and advisory body.

Death has been very cruel indeed in claiming the late Raja Sahib of Jawhar only after such a brief rule. We had him in our midst last in 1924 and we little knew that we should not meet him again.

Such losses are irreparable, but our hope and consolation lie in the fact that the Princes whose losses we deplore have left worthy successors. We trust that the new comers will, like their predecessors, evince a worthy consciousness of their position, will take their place among the pillars of our Order, and will uphold those traditions of loyalty and chivalry which characterise the great Houses to which they belong.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I support the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I beg to support the resolution.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to support the Resolution that is now before the House. Their Highnesses of Bundi and Karauli represented the conservative element in the Rajput community, the element which unfortunately is gradually disappearing. Both Their Highnesses were fond of Sanskrit literature and were patrons of Sanskrit scholars.

His Highness of Bundi took special interest in the informal conferences and thereafter in the working of the Chamber on its coming into being but unfortunately His Highness could not show the same zeal in recent years by attending its meetings on account of his failing health.

The facility and ease with which His Highness the Maharaja of Karauli used to converse in Sanskrit is well known to many of Your Highnesses and it certainly bears brilliant testimony to his proficiency in Sanskrit learning.

With these remarks I beg to associate myself with the Resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Are there any other of Your Highnesses who desire to associate themselves by words with the Resolution?

Their Highnesses raised their hands.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I take it that the Resolution, as has now been read, is concurred in generally.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I will call upon His Highness the Chancellor to move his next Resolution.

Agendum No. 2.

Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharajas of Tripura and Kishangarh.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise this time to perform the pleasant duty of welcoming Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharajas of Karauli, Tripura and Kishangarh and the Maharawal of Dungarpur who have ascended to ruling powers to fill the places of our honoured friends who are no longer with us. Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Karauli and Bundi have commenced their career with a fairly ripe experience of life and I wish them and their States all prosperity and glory under their wise and sagacious rule. Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Tripura and Kishangarh and the Maharawal of Dungarpur are promising young Princes endowed with qualities which go to make a great Ruler and I could not perhaps wish them a better or higher destiny than that they may be spared to a ripe old age to rule wisely and well over their magnificent heritage. As true friends and allies, I hope they will prove to us assets of inestimable value, and play, with ever-increasing enthusiasm, a noble and distinguished part in safeguarding the interests of our Order. I once again wish them all a long and prosperous rule and many years of useful service to their respective States and their Order and now beg to move the following resolution :—

“The Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharajas of Tripura and Kishangarh on their attainment of ruling powers, welcomes them in its midst and wishes them a long and prosperous rule.”

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau: I second the resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Are there any other members of the Chamber desiring to associate themselves? If not, I will put the Resolution which His Highness the Chancellor has just read to the Chamber.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: I think, Your Highnesses, that concludes our business for this morning, with the exception of one observation which it is desired that I myself should make. It has been conveyed to me that a considerable number of Your Highnesses would prefer in future after the opening session that you should take whatever seats you may prefer, having regard to the nature of the business in hand and in order that those who are interested in the same subject might be able to sit and take counsel together in the debate. Therefore, if that is Your Highnesses' wish, I should like Your Highnesses, before departing, to suggest arrangements for seating according to the subject or the nature of the business or the companions you desire for the subject. (Cheers) I think therefore that concludes our business this morning.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

February 21st, 1928.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present:—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Central India.

The Rao of Alipura.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch).

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.

His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.

His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Bombay.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhore.

His Highness the Mir of Khairpur.

The Raja of Chhota Udepur (Minor).

His Highness the Chief of Sangli.

The Chief of Jamkhandi.

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the Maharaja Rana Saheb of Porbandar.

The Thakor Saheb of Limbdi.

His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

The Thakor Saheb of Palitana.

Punjab States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.

His Highness the Raja of Suket.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi.

Central Provinces.

The Raja of Koresa.

| The Ruling Chief of Nandgaon.

Punjab.

The Rana of Baghat.

| The Raja of Kalsia.

United Provinces.

His Highness the Nawab of Rampur.

Agendum No. 3.

Report from His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The first item on our agenda this morning, Your Highnesses, is a report by His Highness the Chancellor reviewing the work performed during the past year.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I rise to perform a duty which is bounden upon me in the capacity as Your Highnesses' elected Chancellor to appraise Your Highnesses of the work done by the Standing Committee and by the Chancellor during the period separating the last and the present sessions of the Chamber of Princes. I may say at the outset that the year was a momentous one and a good deal of important and solid work was done, which, when it comes to fruition, is likely to bring happy results for the well-being of our Order.'

Two months after the last meeting of the Chamber of Princes, *i.e.*, in February, 1927, I was honoured by welcoming to Patiala a meeting of Princes, Ministers and eminent lawyers from British India. In this meeting certain aspects of the present relations between the Indian States and the Government of India were considered very closely; it was decided to despatch Colonel Haksar of Gwalior and Professor Rushbrook Williams of Patiala to England, to obtain Counsel's opinion upon certain outstanding legal points. In the same conference, an important Aide-Memoire was prepared for presentation to His Excellency the Viceroy at the forthcoming Round Table Conference, to the holding of which, at the invitation of His Excellency, Your Highnesses had kindly agreed at your last session. I have placed this Aide-Memoire in the hands of all Your Highnesses and also of the Representative Members: and I need not enter into its details here. Your Highnesses, the Round Table Conference, which we owe to the statesmanship and kindly feeling of His Excellency, duly took place at Simla in May, 1927. Several Princes, other than those who are members of the Standing Committee, also participated. As regards the results of the Round Table Conference, I may say in one word that the upshot was the Enquiry Committee whose appointment we all welcome, and for which once again we have to express our sincerest thanks to His Excellency our President. Soon after the Round Table Conference, the Chancellor's office under my direction, worked very hard in the collection of information required for the preparation of the various documents, etc., which the Haksar-Rushbrook Williams Mission had to take with it to England. The labour involved was very considerable: the responsibility very great: and I am more than grateful for the sympathy, good-will and confidence of my brother Princes. Indeed it was only the determination to be worthy of the trust reposed in me, that sustained me through these anxious months. The Mission returned from England in September, 1927, having accomplished its work with a very remarkable economy both of time and money. I think we all owe the members of the Mission our thanks for having successfully achieved a delicate and difficult task. I have since placed before Your Highnesses the relevant material and a written record of what was achieved. I have nothing more to say here, save to invite Your Highnesses' most careful consideration to those papers. The timeliness of the action taken will, I think, be manifest to all of Your Highnesses in view of the appointment, at so short an interval, of the Indian States Enquiry Committee.

Your Highnesses, it was but natural that the routine of the Standing Committee should recede to the back ground in view of the all-engrossing work demanded by a consideration of our future position; and thus only one meeting of the Standing Committee could be held. This took place in December, 1927. There is, however, some satisfaction in the reflection that we have been able, despite obvious difficulties, to dispose of three important subjects, two of which at least have been pending for a considerable time. Thus,

we have been able to take stock of the following subjects, and to present our recommendations upon them :—

1. Employment of Europeans in Indian States,
2. Assessment of compensation on lands required for Irrigation and Canal purposes, and
3. The Construction of Tramways in Indian States.

I shall have occasion to deal with these subjects separately later on in this House, but it is customary, nay, I feel necessary, to inform Your Highnesses briefly about the other items also which came before the Standing Committee. They were—

1. Division of reparation payments received from Germany between British India and Indian States.
2. Grant to Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the privilege of exercising censorship over telegrams.
3. Extension of Fugitive Offenders Act.
4. Acquisition of non-residential property in British India by Ruling Princes and Chiefs, and
5. Princes' Club.

Regarding reparation payments, it was understood that the proportion due to India, including Indian States, from the total amount that is eventually secured was only 1·2 per cent., but it was all the same desirable that all the claims be presented with as little delay as possible. To facilitate this, it was decided to abandon the suggestion previously made for the appointment of a Special Committee, and leave it to the Government of India to obtain the required statistics from the States concerned through the usual channel.

The question of the grant of privilege of exercising censorship over telegrams was the subject which excited considerable interest. It was generally felt that any restrictions upon the rights of States in this respect, at any rate of such States as had given evidence of the efficiency of their administrative arrangements, would be unjustified and calculated to weaken their general control, with the risk of giving rise to a difficult situation on the occasion of any grave emergency. It was also realised that any legislative action, with a view to the amendment of the Act, would be a matter of considerable difficulty. For the time being, therefore, we decided that the Political Secretary to the Government of India should consult the Legislative Department to ascertain whether a more expeditious method for enabling States to deal with emergencies could be devised.

There was a unanimous desire, and we still feel justly, to secure complete reciprocity in the matter of surrender of offenders. Nothing definite could, however, be agreed upon. There are some legal difficulties, while existing political practice is a barrier in the way of the adoption of our proposals. Finally it was decided that a Committee consisting of—

1. Colonel Haksar of Gwalior.
2. Sir Manubhai Mehta of Bikaner, and
3. Mr. Sen of Patiala

should be given an opportunity of discussing the question on behalf of the Indian States with the representatives of the Legislative and Political Departments, in order to see whether the difficulties could not be overcome without actually applying the Act of 1881.

The Standing Committee could not obtain from Government any satisfactory decision as regards the acquisition of non-residential property by Ruling Princes or Chiefs in British India. We have been assured that the restrictions which we now seek to remove are not the result of any desire to accord to us a treatment more unfavourable than that which is applied to ordinary individuals. Alternative proposals have been suggested and discussed and eventually it was decided that the Government of India be asked to have the matter further examined.

Regarding the proposed Princes' Club at New Delhi, it was emphasised that the plot earmarked for this purpose should not remain vacant longer than was necessary and His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar undertook to circulate to the Princes at a very early date, a scheme for the construction of the Club, together with plans and estimates. We hope His Highness of Alwar, who has evinced such keen interest in this project from the very beginning, will very soon see it materialising.

Among other points of some importance which the Political Secretary brought to the notice of the Standing Committee informally I should like to bring to the notice of Your Highnesses the fact that the Secretary of State has decided that the following scale will be observed regarding payment of expenses to Ruling Princes deputed to attend the League of Nations meetings at Geneva :—

	£
(a) Voyage to Europe and back	2,000
(b) Expenses of one stay in London, travelling expenses in Europe and stay at Geneva.	1,500
(c) Return to England from Geneva where this was necessary	250

Another point of some interest and importance arises from the announcement by the Political Secretary that in cases where the Government of India desired alterations in the recommendations put forward by the Chamber of Princes, it was intended that, where large issues were involved, His Excellency the Viceroy should explain matters to this House, while on occasions of minor importance an explanation should be given to the Standing Committee by the Political Secretary. Rather naturally, I think, the Standing Committee expressed the opinion that it was desirable, before such an amendment was finally introduced, for them to explain their views informally to His Excellency so that the question at issue might be subjected to such further examination as might appear necessary. In this respect, I hope, we acted in the way which Your Highnesses are likely to approve.

The question of Armorial Bearings in the Chamber was also brought up. It was agreed that Armorial Bearings should be arranged in alphabetical order, but we could not definitely decide whether this alphabetical arrangement should be by Provinces or for India as a whole. It is, therefore, for Your Highnesses now to consider what course to adopt so as to settle this small but delicate matter without further delay.

I owe Your Highnesses an apology for taxing your patience for so long, but there is yet one thing more which I must tell you before I sit down. The Princes on the Standing Committee have had to devote unusually long and arduous hours to considering the various details necessitated by the appointment of the Butler Committee. On occasions we have sat continuously for many hours together. With the result of these deliberations, Your Highnesses are already familiar from the many circulars that have been pouring in from the Chancellor's Office. Although formal meetings of the Standing Committee were infrequent, there has been a continual circulation of important papers; and I should like to express to all the

members my gratitude as Chancellor, for the time and energy they have devoted to the common cause. My own task, as Chancellor, has become increasingly responsible and increasingly onerous: and what little I have been able to do in my humble way, I could never have achieved if I had not received the constant sympathy and support of Your Highnesses. I, therefore, owe Your Highnesses a personal debt of gratitude and wish to take advantage of this occasion to acknowledge it publicly. To you, Your Excellency, I must express my deepest and most heartfelt gratitude for the constant and unfailing sympathy and help which you have extended to me. You have honoured me with your confidence. I deeply appreciate the honour. I am more than grateful for all your kindness, just as I am more than grateful for the appreciation which you were so kind as to bestow, in your speech of yesterday, upon my humble efforts.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I understand that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir desires to move a vote of thanks to the Chancellor.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to move a vote of thanks for my distinguished brother, His Highness of Patiala, who so ably conducted the affairs of the Chamber and the Standing Committee for the past 15 months. I do not think it necessary to say very much about the work he has done. Your Excellency, yesterday in your speech, referred to the solid nature of the work that was performed by His Highness the Chancellor and in the review that has just been presented to the Chamber, a detailed reference has been made to all that has been done.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: It affords me the most sincere pleasure in heartily supporting the vote of thanks to my brother and successor in the Chancellorship, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. His Highness' work as Chancellor has by no means been easy or light and there could be no more fitting or greater testimony to the valuable services rendered by His Highness than the high tribute paid to him by Your Excellency in your inaugural speech yesterday. His Highness is carrying on the duties of Chancellor at a particularly important juncture in the history of our States, and should, as we hope, our expectations be realised from the recommendations of the Butler Committee and from what follows after that—we hope during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty—our Order will have still further cause to be grateful to His Highness of Patiala.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I should like to associate myself very heartily with the vote of thanks which it is proposed to address to our Chancellor, His Highness of Patiala. I think we are all fortunate that the very important office of the Chancellor has been held by him for the last two years. I am sure those of Your Highnesses who have exercised the right, to which we are all entitled, of acquainting yourselves at first hand, with the work which has been done, would have come to the conclusion that the Chancellor's office is efficiently run; that our letters and telegrams are promptly attended to; and that a great deal of very useful work is conducted entirely on the initiative of His Highness the Chancellor. Those of us who, like myself, are members of the Standing Committee, will have been very conscious during the last two years of the amount of time, care and trouble which His Highness the Chancellor devotes to the common cause. The amount of correspondence that he has to dispose of in connection with this work is something voluminous and the readiness with which he responds to any call on his purse, time and attention clearly show his self-sacrifice and devotion to the good of our Order.

Further, it is not as if His Highness the Chancellor has nothing else to do but to attend to our business. He is the ruler, and an active and energetic ruler, of an important State which possesses a highly organised administrative system. Nevertheless he has found the time and energy to do all this work on our joint behalf.

But in addition to the amount of work which His Highness the Chancellor has done I think in giving our support to this vote of thanks we should also consider its quality. During the time when His Highness of Patiala has held the Chancellorship some very important things have happened. We have met His Excellency our President in an informal Round Table Conference—a thing which many of Your Highnesses, as I know, have desired for several years. We have thus laid the basis of a thorough understanding between the Government of India and ourselves. Further the upshot of the Round Table Conference has been the appointment of the Indian States Enquiry Committee under the able chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler. Added to which we have also to remember the important work which was achieved by Colonel Haksar and Professor Rushbrook Williams when they visited England last year for the purpose of obtaining authoritative legal opinion upon certain aspects of the Princes' position. In addition to these positive achievements you cannot I think be unmindful of the fact that during the period when His Highness of Patiala has been our Chancellor he has very sensibly and with great ability advanced the common cause. He has not only succeeded in increasing the attendance of the Chamber but he has also accomplished the task, not at all times a very easy one, I fear, of enabling those of us who take a keen interest in the Chamber work to labour together in harmony, to pursue our common interests.

Now I hope Your Highnesses will allow me to say that the record which I have briefly surveyed is no ordinary one. The success with which His Highness of Patiala has occupied the office of Chancellor is definitely proved: first, by the sheer amount of work which he has transacted; secondly by its striking results. These considerations are sufficient to make us truly grateful to him for the work which he has been doing on our behalf.

I feel sure Your Highnesses will agree with me when I say that it has been a real asset to the whole Order of Princes that the office of Chancellor has been held at this particular moment by a Prince whose name has become proverbial for his open-hearted hospitality, for his extraordinary charm of manner, and for his most generous and open-hearted expenditure of his own resources in the common cause. I thus associate myself most warmly and from the bottom of my heart with the resolution of thanks to His Highness of Patiala, our Chancellor.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Any other of Your Highnesses desiring to speak? I should like in one word also to associate myself with the vote of thanks that has been proposed and supported to His Highness the Chancellor, repeating, as I think, I said yesterday, how greatly I have appreciated on my side the manner and the cordial assistance that His Highness has given to me during the past four months in all the difficult and responsible work that we have had to do together. I will put the vote of thanks to the House. Those in favour may signify their assent by holding up their hands.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I am most grateful to Your Excellency and Your Highnesses for having appreciated my humble services.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The next item on the agenda is the resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

A en-u-- No. 8.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the framing by the Standing Committee of the Agenda for the Chamber of Princes and the Standing Committee for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to move the following Resolution:—

“That this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that its Standing Committee should be empowered to frame its own agenda and the agenda of the Chamber, for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy”

I place this resolution before Your Highnesses as one of considerable importance to the deliberations of the Chamber as well as of its Standing Committee

The present practice is governed by article 6 of the Regulations regarding the appointment of the Standing Committee, which reads as follows :—

“The Political Secretary will ordinarily attend the meetings of the Standing Committee and will consult the Committee in framing the agenda for the meeting of the Chamber of Princes.”

The principle embodied in my resolution is that the right of framing the agenda should be vested in the Standing Committee, subject to the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy, instead of being vested as at present in the Political Secretary. I desire to give the Standing Committee the initiative in framing the agenda and in proposing the subjects that should come up before the Standing Committee of the Chamber for discussion. Under the existing practice it is often the case that matters suggested for discussion by the Standing Committee disappear from the agenda, without the Standing Committee knowing what has happened. Under the plan I am suggesting items might still disappear, if His Excellency did not desire them to be discussed but the Standing Committee would know what had happened and also why it had happened.

I think Your Highnesses will agree with me that it is only proper that we should have the right to suggest what we desire to discuss, and apart from the equitable nature of this demand, there is an important consideration which should also recommend this resolution to Your Highnesses. It is a matter of common knowledge that the items, which have so far been placed upon the agenda of the Chamber, have not on all occasions been of such importance as to sustain the interest of Princes or to even justify their attendance at Delhi. Princes attend meetings of the Chamber at considerable inconvenience and it is but right and proper that they should not be called upon to undergo the trouble and expense involved, unless matters of sufficient importance are placed before them for discussion. The right of the Standing Committee to frame its own agenda follows from what I have said with regard to the Chamber itself, because the agenda of the Chamber is to a large extent based on the proceedings of the Standing Committee.

Your Highnesses, I do not overlook the possibility of my appearing to claim for the Standing Committee the final voice in selecting the subjects to be discussed and thereby encroaching upon the right which is vested in His Excellency the Viceroy. Nothing is further from my mind. My claim merely is that the Standing Committee should be allowed the initiative in proposing the items for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy; the final decision continuing to rest with His Excellency. My sole object is to invest the proceedings of the Chamber with greater interest and reality than they have hitherto enjoyed.

I need hardly add that if this Resolution be accepted no proposal which was inconsistent with the Constitution of the Chamber could be allowed to come up, and under article 5 of our Constitution any proposal for amending the Constitution itself could only be brought up with the permission of His Excellency the Viceroy. The right claimed by this resolution is only the right of making *recommendations* to His Excellency, which to my mind is a very modest claim on behalf of the Standing Committee. I earnestly hope that the effect of my proposal, if passed by this Chamber, will be that our proceedings will show greater interest than at present. Under the present system we are inclined to attribute the dull decorum of our proceedings partly to the fact that the agenda prepared for us is not of living interest to us; that responsibility will now devolve to a greater degree upon the Princes themselves. I recommend the resolution for Your Highnesses' acceptance.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; it is with the full sense of the importance of the proposal made by His Highness of Kashmir that I rise to second it, and in doing so heartily associate myself with the object at which it aims. Under present arrangements, the Standing Committee is not given a free hand in formulating the Agenda for the meetings of the Chamber of Princes; while the Agenda of the Standing Committee itself is prepared exclusively by the Political Secretary. The Princes have every reason to expect that their elected representatives, the Standing Committee will bring before them at the end of the year, an Agenda containing matters of real interest to them which might enable them in time to look for some tangible solution of the many problems vitally affecting the Indian States and their Rulers. In this respect, I can say without fear of contradiction that the present system, from the standpoint of Government as well as of the Princes, requires amendment. This indeed will be obvious from the fact that the painstaking labour devoted by the Standing Committee to the Chamber Agenda is very often productive of poor and unsatisfactory results. In practice we find that unimportant subjects come to the forefront and subjects which are of real importance to the Princes have rested in oblivion.

The present proposal does not in any serious degree conflict with the existing rules, but entails a little modification thereof. Its object is to assist His Excellency the Viceroy in the selection of subjects for discussion and to guide the Political Secretary in framing a suitable Agenda and for bringing forward such subjects as are of vital importance to the welfare and the interests of the States. The ultimate decision whether or not a particular item recommended by the Standing Committee should appear on the Agenda, will of course, still rest with His Excellency the Viceroy, though, as a matter of courtesy, the Standing Committee hope they may be favoured with the reasons which have produced the non-acceptance of any proposal. With a safeguard like this, I am inclined to believe that this proposal which aims at reforming what time and experience have shown to be susceptible of improvement, should meet with general and unanimous approval; and I commend it most earnestly to my Brother Princes.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I entirely associate myself with the resolution that has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir with regard to the Standing Committee being empowered to assist the Political Secretary in drafting the agenda for the consideration of the members of our Order. I believe that is a sufficient safeguard in itself when it is stated that this agenda will merely be a recommendation to His Excellency the Viceroy of the subjects that the Committee proposes might be discussed in a more open form in this particular House. I personally think that the agenda in such circumstances is likely, as His Highness of Kashmir has said, to enliven interest and to make debates interesting. For no doubt some points will arise which will be contentious also. But I cannot see that there can be any harm in such an agenda being framed when it has finally to be approved by the Viceroy. For I believe that it will assist not only in increasing the interest of the members of our Order in this Chamber but will also give some bigger vision before us, something of interest before us, on which we can concentrate with our oratorical powers.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir is so obviously important and essential that really there is no necessity for me to say anything further than to make a couple of observations. Firstly, I should like to testify, from my personal and long experience of the work which I had to do as Chancellor, to the need for such a measure of reform. As regards the work of the agenda of the Standing Committee, the Committee is dealing with the most important work of revising the political practice and of making recommendation to His Excellency the Viceroy

regarding the revision of political practice; and it is most essential that more urgent and important questions affecting the States should also be taken up and that the Standing Committee should have a voice in making recommendations for Your Excellency's consideration.

I would add another point. It is not only the 23 points which have been classified, which we are taking up, and can or could only take up in connection with the work of the revision of political practice. There are many other points of more or less equal importance which it is equally necessary should also be taken up when making our recommendations regarding political practice. Some of these questions have from time to time at our informal meetings and elsewhere been proposed by the Princes to be also entrusted to the Standing Committee in connection with such work of revision. I believe I am correct in stating—though I have not had time to verify it this morning—that the Standing Committee already possesses the power to initiate proposals for Your Excellency's consideration and I hope and believe that this is one of the many important reforms connected with the work of our Standing Committee which will, during the tenure of office of Your Excellency and of my friend, Mr. Watson, be put right.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, Perhaps I might say a word or two on this resolution before Your Highnesses accept it or vote upon it. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir said that his sole object in moving the resolution was to stimulate greater interest in the Chamber and to provide the Chamber with more interesting character of Agenda. With both of these objects, as Your Highnesses know, I have full sympathy and should be glad to do anything I can to assist in their realisation. The Standing Committee, I recognise also, have great responsibilities and have to do a great deal of work preliminary to the meeting of the Chamber and it is to the interest of us all, of the Government and of myself no less than of Your Highnesses of the Chamber, to give them every encouragement, assistance and facility that we can in the discharge of their duties. At the same time I feel bound to interject one observation by way of correction. It might I think be thought by some who have listened to this discussion that the Viceroy and the Political Secretary spend their time in emasculating an otherwise exciting and stimulating Agenda, and on the shoulders of the Viceroy and the Political Secretary rests the blame if the Agenda is not always so stimulating and interesting, as many desire. That Your Highnesses can take it from me would not be a correct representation of the case and I therefore am not myself disposed to exaggerate the immediate change that will be effected in the character of the debates in the Chamber by the acceptance of the reform that the Maharaja of Kashmir suggests. Having said that, I will at once make it plain that as far as I am concerned and as far as the Political Department are concerned, I welcome this Resolution and am fully prepared to accept it and to work it in the spirit that has been made clear in the course of the speeches.

There are only two further observations that I think I need make. The first is that I hope that the Standing Committee will co-operate with me in the sense of taking steps to frame the Agenda, to decide on what should be included in it in sufficient time to afford adequate notice for consideration of my Government of any proposal that they might desire to include. The second is that while I should, whether from courtesy or for any other reasons, when ruling out any item from the Agenda, willingly put the Standing Committee in possession of the reasons that have led me to do so, I should be reluctant to give an undertaking that in all cases I should be able to give the reasons that had compelled such ruling out, although I anticipate that such cases would be wholly of an exceptional character. And the third observation that perhaps I might make is that up to now in the main, I think all our discussions when we had come into this Chamber, as between Your Highnesses and the President representing Government, have been always singularly harmonious—they will obviously at least, I hope so, remain harmonious in one sense. They have been harmonious in the debating sense, because a good many of the differences have been resolved

or at all events avoided by discussion outside. Well if we pursue what I think is likely to be on the whole the stimulating practice of opening the agenda more widely to matters, on which it may be thought that Government will take a different view to that advanced by the Standing Committee, it may be that cases in which Government, through the mouth of the Viceroy, will say that they definitely disagree with what is proposed, may occur with rare frequency. That I for my part should not at all deplore, if it occurred, because where we differ I should be very little doubtful of inter-changing views whether within this Chamber or outside. In 99 cases out of 100 we should probably be sensible of the cases in which we have reasonably agreed. Therefore I say I welcome this resolution in the hope that it will fulfil, and perhaps I am unduly sanguine, the expectations of the Maharaja of Kashmir in the direction of making all our debates of stimulating character that he would wish to see. May I put the resolution, Your Highnesses, that this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that the Standing Committee should be empowered to frame the agenda of the Chamber and the Standing Committee for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy?

The resolution is carried unanimously.

Agendum No. 12.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the fixing of the age limit for the assumption of the reins of Government at 21.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I am reminded to-day of a scene I witnessed from the Strangers' Gallery in one of the Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, when a contentious motion was put forward by one of the Cabinet limelights. The House was in a state of intense excitement, and if votes had been taken at the commencement, the polling would have possibly shown the result of one against 600. But by the gradual process of reasoning and an appeal to common sense the result achieved amounted to a victory for the Government with a good majority. I have no Cabinet behind me, but my appeal to your common sense and reasoning may apply in a similar manner and I trust the results in the end may be the same. My position is somewhat similar at the present moment to that which was described in a poem which I had the privilege to recite in college days, when, if I remember rightly, I was actually successful in obtaining a prize for it. The piece related to an incident in the Spanish Armada. There were six British ships lying in the harbour at Flores in the Azores. Fifty-three Spanish vessels were seen coming over the horizon the Commander ordered these six ships to be instantaneously prepared in order to follow him. One ship however remained behind to collect its men who were on shore and it finally went headlong into the midst of the 53. A rash inspiration, most would say, no doubt, but in the end after a battle lasting over twenty-four hours, when the Commander of that one ship was wounded and was on the point of death, he struggled to his feet and said I have only done my duty as a man is bound to do and in this joyful spirit "I Richard Grenville should die".

I am not born of a pessimistic nature and I mention this incident not to rouse any antagonism or to illustrate this debate as a battle within four walls but with the sole intention of convincing you that nothing but that high sense of duty inspires me to pursue a course which I feel will not require too much advocacy before several members of my Order. I ask for

no concession except that Your Highnesses may listen to what I have to say, let it be in a critical spirit but nevertheless on the basis of common sense and reason.

My motives may have been misconstrued but one of them certainly does not consist of having conspired with any one to go against your wishes, if that be so, in order to obtain Royal Humane Society's medal. Your Highnesses surely you will admit and I do not think there is any one who will deny it that times have changed, as has always been the habit, from what we may wrongly call the beginning of creation. It undoubtedly means that we have to provide remedies for circumstances that are different to what our ancestors found them and perhaps different even from those which we have experienced in our earlier days. The searchlight of public opinion is blazing with increasing fire on the actions of those who are placed at the head of affairs to govern the destinies of men. Where not so long ago perhaps only 4 or 5 generations back it was the sword that cut and pierced, to-day we have two weapons to face which, in their exercise, perhaps cut and wound more than the physical tortures of ancient days. The tongue speaks and the pen writes more vividly and brings our actions into the limelight thus making it more important than ever that we should have our Houses in such an order that the revelations coming from the light may, in competition with the houses in our neighbourhood, reveal nothing of which we need feel ashamed. We have heard from many sides the first and necessary essentials of good Government. You can read them in books. You can learn them from expert statesmen. You can understand them from personal intercourse with persons who have been accustomed to indulge in Governments and Administrations. But through them all, I ask, where do we come to the principal factor, the primary key which it is essential to find? Where lies the first root which if we water aright will ensure the growth of the tree so that the stem, the leaves and the flowers will grow right? Surely, Your Highnesses, in our administration it is the personal equation that counts most. The Indian States are the surviving legacies of an ancient system that has come down for several thousand centuries, the initial principles of which have been worked out in detail, imposing upon the ruler his duties to his people and upon the people their obligations to their master. But it is not my purpose to deal with these subjects on the present occasion. In order to formulate these principles, where the personal equation is more permanent than anywhere else, in order to make that system carry forward the traditions of the past into what may seem the dim and gloomy future, it is essential that the education given to that personality, which has been destined to rule should be, by every flight of the highest imagination such as would be best suited for our States to survive. It should be an education that will ensure that the Ruler, when his destiny is elevated, is in a position to make certain, and to make others feel certain, that his own credit will be enhanced, and, what is more important, that the destinies of his people and their welfare will be ensured! In this manner I therefore, come to the subject of my resolution which deals primarily with the education to be given to minor Princes and then propose to fix the age limit at which they shall assume the reins of government of their States at the mature age of 21.

Now, with your permission, I wish to analyse facts. What is the age at which our successors may be deemed to have completed their education up to the high standard that we and the world expect of them in the modern days? I believe there are few, if any, who can pass out of the post diploma class in the Princes' Colleges—a class which is deemed to be equivalent to the B. A. Degree, even though it has not been recognised by all the Universities—a day before reaching the age of seventeen and achieve the results, the full results, of their education. I shall not be very far wrong. If the College registers are examined, I think it will be proved that the age limit I have arrived at for young students passing out of their college careers is not wide off the mark. Now there are many who hold that the age limit should be eighteen. I do not think that I need stretch much

imagination or argument to prove whether after leaving his college career, a young Heir-Apparent can imbibe all the essential principles necessary for commencing the government of his State; whether he can see even something that is necessary for him to see of the world; whether he can tour in various parts of the country in order to learn lessons about administration and government within a course of 12 months after leaving his college career. The age limit I believe in the time of Lord Reading was fixed at 19½, but that, if I may say so without offence to anyone, was a half-way house, and so far as any principle was concerned, it might be called arbitrary. Now the age limit recognised in Europe for attaining majority is 21. One of the arguments against this limit being fixed in our country. I have heard it said, is that people attain a ripe age sooner in hotter climates than they do in the cold. If that be so, our ancient seers, our ancient sages, who had centuries of experience, our own law-givers, according to the Hindu *Shastras*, have definitely laid down that the life of a student emerges into that of a householder in the 25th year. I do not think that climate in our country has changed to such an extent that the age at which people become ripe and mature, when they were deemed to be worthy, namely 25 should, in our modern days, be considered to have degenerated to such an extent that they can ripen as early as at the age of 18 or in its close proximity. Rather if we are to make certain that education is given on sound lines, and more important than all, if we are to make certain that the character of the young student is properly formed before the destinies of hundreds, and thousands—in some cases millions—of people are placed in his hands, is it not meet, is it not right, is it not correct, that we should insist on the minimum time-limit being fixed, which in this case should also be the maximum—except in very exceptional cases—when a youth should begin to assume the responsibilities of his State. Assuming, and I think that the assumption is not unreasonable, that after receiving real education in his own college, whether it be in the Princes College or elsewhere or even in England, a Prince leaves his studies at about the age of 17, I hope I may carry Your Highnesses with me when I say that it is necessary that he should travel outside our continent with a guardian and under tutelage, in order that he may learn something of the world outside the shores of our mother country, so that he may know that there are things bigger than his State, bigger even than India, that he may know by careful observation and selection of the places he visits, of the people that he meets, of the things that he sees, what is necessary for his educational interests of the future. Such a visit is not likely to be completed in less than eight to ten months. And then when he returns to his home again, what is the “ideal” of administration that is necessary to the place before his vision? At best he sees the administration conducted by his own minority. Whatever views may be held on the working of those institutions taking the best side of the situation and the problem it cannot be denied that his horizon must be limited by the administration that his minority has been conducted principally by imported officials who have set their hearts in putting the administration right according to their own individual dictates. But he sees nothing more. And it is why I maintain that he should be encouraged to visit also the administrations of Indian States which, in the opinion of the Government of India, are conducted on sound lines, that he should actually look into and be allowed to examine the machinery of such organisations in order that he may see, what to choose and pick, in order that he may also learn what to avoid when the time comes for him to commence the Government of his own State. This again, under proper tuition, would enable the young student to form some ideal for himself. And then I think that it is vital that he should also be initiated into the working of what Lord Curzon rightly said, “one of the finest administrative machines in the world”, namely, the Government of India. I do not thereby imply that he should be let loose in the offices of the Political Department in order to read up all the files regarding his State or the quarrels against his neighbours, I do not hold that he need even enter into the precincts

of that sacred institution, until the time comes when he is compelled to sit at its doors. But what I do say is that I feel certain the Government of India would have no objection to a young prince learning how an office organisation should be conducted and how the work is carried on by departments highly organised, if he is allowed to see the inside of this machine whether it be in the Legislative Department, Commerce Department or other Departments of the Imperial Government. Would anyone presume to say that such an education would not assist him to build an ideal for himself for the future? Surely nowhere could he receive better instruction than if he were initiated into the methods of how the Imperial Government with its vast resources conduct the administration of finance, the most vital backbone of all administrations. I do not think that anyone will contest the point when I say that that in itself would require at least eight to ten months again, both for touring in the States and learning work in the departments of the Government of India. And now where is it that the dividing line comes, by leaping which the secrets of administration stand nude before the young and spirited soul? At least a year or a year and a half before the age of majority, he should be instructed—I believe Your Highnesses will agree that he should—by a capable tutor and a sympathetic resident to understand the machinery of his own administration in his own State. And gradually but slowly, as his capabilities allow, the Departments of his State should, in my estimation, be transferred to him for two principal reasons, firstly, to learn what they imply and secondly so that he understands how to control and guide them. Would any one say that the time limit for this purpose is too much if we should fix it at one year to learn the work of his own Departments in his own State? If it be not so then I believe it is a very small period necessary for a prince in which to obtain practical knowledge of his own State.

Now what happens under the present circumstances? The age limit being a fluctuating factor, as soon as the young ward reaches the age of 18 he begins to fret and conceives that it is his right to come into power. He immediately rubs shoulders the wrong way against his Ministers when he begins to think they are conspiring to keep him out of power. The next person that he believes is really against him is the Resident, the Political Agent or the A. G. G., when the ward again thinks that the same conspiracy is being hatched in order that he should not succeed to his heritage. And so it goes on. Now look at the dangers. By the time the young ward comes into his heritage he has been filled with suspicions, which people around him are only too willing and ready to take advantage of. His feelings have, to a great extent, been embittered by all sorts of stories and tales that have been brought to him. Is it not then right, in the face of such circumstances, that we should have a definite limit fixed where the Prince shall succeed, except, as I say, in very exceptional cases, to his heritage? If we have a definite limit fixed none of these points that I have mentioned could appear on the mental horizon of that young Prince, for he knows that nobody can conspire against him to keep him out of power before the age of 21 and nobody can conspire to keep him out of power after the age of 21. Thus when he has completed his experience of the administration of his State, what is the most important factor that still remains? I believe it to be that, even if you can succeed in arousing the latent interest in his own administration, in seeing something of what lies before him in life, if you can get him to relish the taste of the dishes that will have to be served up to him, and above all if you can avoid that bump which comes from the life of the young student one day to that of a full-blossomed Ruling Prince or another, when he has assumed the reins of his Government you will have to avoid some pitfalls into which temptations sometimes lead people headlong. Now, Your Highnesses, I am not slow to acknowledge that there have been in the past some shining instances,—present in this very hall—who have assumed their reins of Government at the age of 18 and who are figuring amongst the most prominent ones to-day. I hope the House will not include me amongst them for I

began Government of my State at the comparatively right age of 21. But these have been exceptions, I mean those who succeeded at 18. Could any one tell me that this has been the rule? If any one did do so, I should be at a discount in giving my answer. For I have no desire whatsoever to quoting instances or making any personal references of the obvious failure which, unfortunately, have been not outside the knowledge of those sitting inside this Chamber.

I will for this purpose only quote a passage from Lord Curzon. "Many of the mistakes in the past have been due in my judgment to the premature removal of all discipline and restraint from weak dispositions or ill-balanced minds". Analyse the instances of failures in your own minds, apply this test, and I believe you will find that it is not very far wrong. Why is it, then, Your Highnesses, that any of us should be in a hurry to propose that the age limit should be fixed at 18 or somewhere in its proximity but not at the ripe limit of 21? I believe that I should not go very far wide off the mark if I said what I feel and understand to-day, that this is due to none too great an estimation in our minds of some administrations conducted during minorities. I have experience of 12 years in that particular respect myself, *then* only with the eyes of youth and *now* endowed with the eyes of an interested spectator. I should indeed be a strange person if I could not pay acknowledgments, as I do, to several of those who were responsible for the conduct of the minority administration in my own State and to admire the sympathy and the industry with which many of the minority administrations are conducted to-day. But this is a matter which in the present instance rests to a great extent in the hands of the Viceroy and the Government of India. That again is a matter of personnel. If His Excellency and the Government of India choose, as no doubt they try to do, the right person, and instil him with enthusiasm necessary for doing something for which the successor to the rightful heritage will be grateful when his time comes, that persons responsible for conducting such administrations will leave behind, as many have done in the past, lasting memories of gratitude and thankfulness. But because we may take fright at this idea, at the idea of minority administrations not having been conducted as ideally in a few cases as one might expect, are we going to sacrifice the whole future career of an Indian Prince by saying that he should commence to govern his State at the unripe age of 18 or thereabouts, with every temptation of money, intrigue, sycophancy, finance, etc., facing him. If we have to choose between two evils, I, for one, would most certainly and every time choose the one in favour of the future Ruler of the State, for in his hands are going to be placed the destinies of hundreds of thousands of people who are looking towards him with eyes of love and affection, who are only too ready to do, what he wishes, at his beck and call, but who is unable to do what he should, because he has been planted on his own heritage at a time and in a season when no air, water, sun or heat could enable that seed to grow as should have been its inherent tendency.

While I bow to all the arguments that may be produced in eulogy of those who have commenced their reign at the age of 18 and who stand on high pedestals to-day, I must also remind Your Highnesses that in many instances that I know, if not in most, the assumptions of the reins of government at the age of 18 have been followed by confidential documents restricting the powers of the young Ruler, imposing upon him conditions that he should consult the Political Agent in all important matters; that he should regard him as his guide, philosopher and friend; that he should not exceed his budget without approval and which in some cases might have to be sent up for approval to the Agent to the Governor General or such other Agency which may exist in that particular area. It is not outside my knowledge that such conditions, imposed secretly or even confidentially, have been removed long after the age limit of 21 has passed. Now, Lord Hardinge, when referring to this subject, expressed his opinion in a public speech which I can easily quote. Briefly, he said, that he did not think it right to impose such conditions on a Ruling Prince after he had assumed the reins of the government of his State for, specially

in high-spirited natures these conditions achieved and brought things to a worse state of affairs than they might have been if the Prince had succeeded unfettered to his powers. But would anyone say that a youth of 18 is capable of succeeding in all that his inheritance implies, at that age with no conditions whatsoever and that he is going to turn out to be that ideal Ruler we all aim at, a model monarch, not only in accordance with the expectations of the modern times, but also with the injunctions laid down in the ancient scriptures? It is a very natural desire in the minds of our Order—and I am not an exception to it—that we should like to see—and I feel many of our people from purely sentimental motives, would be guided by the same opinion they would like to see their King and Ruler administering, even in an inferior manner, the State and even their destinies. But, Your Highnesses, that is the most sacred trust we have; that is the most precious asset that we possess—the love and affection of our subjects. Let it, pray, not be tarnished. Let there not be a chance of its being trampled down by unripe youth or by an age limit which will satisfy perhaps only our personal idiosyncracies and tendencies and may impose, if I may say so, lasting disgrace on the young and inexperienced Ruler and produce evils for which our own people may not be able subsequently to find remedies. I am not holding to the age limit of 21 because of any pedantic idea. But I wish to make certain—and I feel sure in this respect there are none of Your Highnesses who will differ from me—that it is necessary to make certain that the Prince who succeeds to his heritage is capable both by age as well as by his character of being placed in a position and a situation where he is safe from temptations or comparatively so, and where he may well expect that having imbibed the essentials of administration, he will be able to hold his own despite the temptations which surround him.

Why go looking for intrigues and their remedies? Why impose upon the Imperial Government the unpleasant task of being compelled to interfere in administrations when Governments are conducted by youths who under no circumstances can be considered fit to rule, when it is in your hands to make the position safer by allowing sufficient time for the young student to mature his ideas and his ideals under proper tutelage, when it is easy to wait until he has reached the age limit where he can be trusted in a much greater degree and to a much fuller extent to carry out the duties imposed upon him both by his destiny as well as by his heritage? Why for mainly sentimental reasons take such very large risks? Would any one say that no difficulties attend the path of the young Prince, when he comes into his own? On the contrary I think there are many and perplexing too. There is the difficulty of our reconciling the fidelity to the traditions of an oriental people with the principles they have imbibed from the western civilisation. There is the difficulty of placing restraint upon his impulses or passions as a man, where these conflict with his duties as a Ruler. There is the difficulty but the necessity of hitting the mean between attempting too much and doing too little. But all these are difficulties which only exist to be surmounted and by which a man of level judgment and self-control need never be appalled.

In placing this proposition, therefore, before Your Highnesses for your consideration, I also am surrounded by one difficulty, namely, that Your Highnesses may have come, as I believe is not impossible, into this Chamber hall with pre-conceived opinions and judgments. We have not advanced in the art of debate to the stage where we can answer arguments. I admit that, in the initial stages of the life of the Chamber, written speech sometimes becomes necessary. But after somewhat long expression of the views that I have given on a subject, about which I have felt somewhat intensely, I hope that apart from what Your Highnesses may have written, you will also give consideration to the views that I have expressed before you. I admit that Your Highnesses have not heard my arguments or at least all of them before. I did not wish to make the debate on this important question so flat that while we may have had interesting and instructive debates elsewhere we should come to this Chamber as a phalanx with definite opinions merely to conduct a

full dress debate. I have already told Your Highnesses that I am not averse to criticism, in fact I welcome it. I should like nothing more on this occasion than that Your Highnesses should reason and argue the position which I have placed before you for your consideration. I am even prepared to go so far that Your Highnesses may contest every statement that I have made on the basis of logic and reason, but I hope in a sympathetic mood also. Certainly I will try and attempt to answer them in the same mood, and when it will be my privilege, at the conclusion of this debate, to give replies to any points that Your Highnesses may like to put forward, I may even utilise the privilege laid down in our Rules of Business that, with the leave of the Chair, before the actual votes are taken, I may address Your Highnesses for five minutes and no more in vernacular for the benefit of those Princes who do not understand English.

Your Highnesses, I have only gone to such lengths in expressing my sentiments and views because I desire to lay as much stress and emphasis on this point as it is in my power to do. If Your Highnesses desire that the age limit should be 18, why should it not be from sentimental reasons even earlier, say, 16 or 17? But could I be assured that the future of the Indian States will be assured by young rulers coming into their own at any of these figures and could they conduct their responsibility as is expected of them? We have many questions on the anvil at present. The future position of the Indian States is being enquired into by what is going to be known as the Butler Committee. We have several problems regarding which we have approached His Excellency the Viceroy, such as the security of Treaties, our engagements and Sanads, etc., and these documents lay down what is our position *vis-a-vis* the Imperial Crown who took over responsibility by virtue of the Proclamation made by Her Majesty Queen Victoria. How are all these old obligations to be fulfilled? Does any one think that by catering to personal idiosyncracies, by hastening the event by fixing the age limit at a time when human nature is not likely to be mature, we are going to or likely to achieve our end. Your Highnesses, it is, with a full consciousness of the fact that there may be opposition to the proposition that I speak. I have taken all risks even of your odium. But, it is because I see only one thing before me and one alone, the future well-being of our Order, that I unreservedly place my views before Your Highnesses. I only wish to ensure that our administrations by the younger generations may be conducted in such a way that things may not go astray, that such chances and opportunities may be minimised, and that alongside the march of British India, whom we always wish well, we may be able to carry forward into the future the traditions of our past and be able to hold forth the banner which is the emblem of good administration and justice. It is this happy blend of authority with good will of sentiment with self-interest, of duties with rights, that distinguishes the Indian States in relation to the British Crown from any other dominion or any other country of which we may have read in history. The links that hold us together are not iron fetters forged for the weak by the strong but they are the silken strands that have been woven into a strong tie of self sacrifice and esteem. Here, I think, we may all be united in our aim the future welfare and progress of the States is the object that we have to achieve. Whether my resolution regarding the age which aims at achieving this object is carried or is lost, will be in Your Highnesses' hands. But I claim and I claim nothing more than this, that if we should have some guarantee for the safety of the administration entrusted to the hands of the younger generation who will carry forward our name to the future I shall be satisfied. And now with these words I close. The one solution and goal I see is that of giving education to the minor Princes in such a way that they may be safe from temptations and may learn the first and essential principles of governing their States in such a manner that when the time comes for them to lay down their reins, when the opportunity comes for them to pass their mantles on to their successors, they may say not only to themselves and to their friends but to the wide world that they have been able to perform their duty. It is with that motive that I conceive it reasonable and logical to move that

the age limit for a young Ruler coming into his own should be fixed at 21. My resolution runs as follows:—

“That this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that in order to ensure a complete education and administrative training both in and outside the State, for the minor Princes, and to remove the present uncertainty and subsequent anxiety on the point, the age limit for the assumption of the reins of government be hereafter fixed definitely at 21”.

I have nothing more to say and I will end what I have said with five lines—

“O, Joy that seekest me through pain,
I cannot close my heart to thee,
I trace the rainbow through the rain,
And feel the promise is not vain
That morn shall tearless be.”

(Cheers.)

His Excellency the Viceroy: His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has evidently raised a subject in which I have no doubt many of Your Highnesses will wish to take part in the debate and it might perhaps be for the convenience of Your Highnesses, if I take your general sense as to what would be for the convenience of the Chamber. It is now twenty minutes to one and what I would suggest, if convenient to Your Highnesses, would be this that we might perhaps have one more speech on this subject this morning, and then perhaps it will be convenient to adjourn the debate at that stage, making the resumption of the discussion the first item on the agenda to-morrow morning. That will give all Your Highnesses who wish to place yourselves in the possession of the Maharaja of Alwar's arguments, before deciding your judgment, time to prepare any observations you wish to make. May I take it that it will be generally convenient?

All Their Highnesses agreed by raising their hands.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I understand His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala would wish to speak now and we might then adjourn till to-morrow morning.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; the resolution my friend His Highness of Alwar has moved with characteristic eloquence raises an issue of vital importance. The question as to when a young Ruler can be safely trusted with full powers and responsibility for the Government of his State is one that calls for very careful reflection and wise decision. To my mind it would be difficult to lay down a hard and fast rule. A certain amount of elasticity would be eminently desirable. In some cases circumstances, personal fitness and qualities of a young Ruler may fully justify assumption of ruling powers at the age of 18, assisted by able and experienced advisers. In other cases a postponement till a later date may be amply warranted by local conditions or personal qualifications. Broadly speaking, therefore, a young Ruler should begin to exercise his powers at some suitable date between the ages of 18 and 21. With this problem, obviously, the question of sound education and efficient training is closely intertwined.

Gone are the days when perhaps books like Sadi's Gulistan could be regarded as an ample storehouse of wisdom for Princes and a study of one or two such books represented the limit of intellectual equipment. India is changing fast, not excepting the States. New conditions are arising, new ideas are gaining ground, political and social evolution is steadily taking place. That the sons of Ruling Princes should be adequately equipped to take their proper share in the general progress of the country and to help forward the progressive development of their States cannot be gainsaid. Preparation for effectively responding to the spirit of the times can only be ensured through education and training on healthy, well-regulated and not too exclusive lines.

I think the existing Chiefs' Colleges in India are susceptible of much improvement and can be adapted to the modern needs of education of the sons of Ruling Princes and I feel that the time is ripe for what I might call their partial democratization. It would be unwise and inexpedient to rear and educate our sons in, so to speak, water-tight compartments. To my mind the introduction, subject to certain safeguards, of non-aristocratic element into the Colleges would be a very desirable reform. What I mean is that the scope of admissions should be widened. Such a measure would not only improve the financial conditions of the Colleges but at the same time serve to bring our sons into contact with members of classes outside Our Order and thus obviate social intellectual insularity. I would suggest the appointment of an expert committee to go into the whole question of rendering the Chiefs' Colleges responsive to present day requirements. After completing the prescribed course at these Colleges our boys should, in my opinion, be sent to England and other Western countries for higher education under reliable and suitable guardianship. The legitimate objections to the removal of boys of tender age to strange lands and countries would not hold good in this case. They would proceed abroad at an age when the risk of westernization or a complete break with Indian tradition would be materially minimized. The third and final stage should be that of travelling in foreign lands. Education on some such lines as I have indicated would be calculated to afford the sons of Ruling Princes adequate intellectual equipment, properly form and develop their character and widen their outlook and sympathies.

As regards the subsequent training it is obviously necessary that this should be carried out on thoroughly well-ordered and systematic lines. The ideal scheme would be to arrange for their going through the whole gamut of administrative and general training in British India. Habits of discipline and application to work would be more readily picked up if they underwent apprenticeship in an environment where their princely position would not be constantly emphasized. In their own States temptation to learn would not be so strong as in British India under Officers who would have no favours to gain by conniving at their faults of omission or commission.

With these words I wish to commend the Resolution so ably moved by His Highness of Alwar to the earnest attention and consideration of the House.

His Excellency the Viceroy: In accordance with what I understand to be Your Highnesses' convenience, I would now declare the debate adjourned on the understanding that the resumption of the discussion would be the first item to-morrow.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD DAY.

February 22nd, 1928.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were Present :—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Central India.

The Rao of Alipura.	His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bijawar.	His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa.
His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch).	

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Bombay.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor.	His Highness the Mir of Khairpur.
The Raja of Chhota Udepur (Minor).	His Highness the Chief of Sangli.
The Chief of Jamkhandi.	

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Maharaja Rana Saheb of Porbandar.
The Thakor Saheb of Limbdi.	
The Thakar Saheb of Palitana.	His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

Punjab States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.	His Highness the Raja of Suket.
His Highness the Raja of Mandi.	

Central Provinces.

The Raja of Korea.	The Ruling Chief of Nandgaon.
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Punjab.

The Rana of Baghat.	The Raja of Kalsia.
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His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala : Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I should like in the first place to record my appreciation at the ability and eloquence with which His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has moved this very important resolution. When I listened to him, I felt that I was hearing a powerful debater expound a strong case and I experienced the keen pleasure which comes to all of us when we witness a difficult job carried through with consummate ability. But all the time I was listening to this eloquent exposition, I was conscious of a feeling, shared I believe by many of Your Highnesses, that there was another side of the case. As a purely intellectual proposition, the proposal of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has much to commend it. Plainly, it would be advantageous if every Prince, when he attained ruling powers, were fully equipped by disposition, by ability, and by experience, to occupy the great position to which he is called. Again, that skill in administration acquired by participation in the work of a highly organised Government like that of British India, would be an unquestionable asset to any ruler. Further, if it is possible for a ruler to see something of the world, to travel outside India, to obtain something like a universal perspective, that also is all to the good. In a word, I believe that all of us here are in thorough agreement with the ends that His Highness of Alwar has in view.

But when we come to consider the means by which he proposes to achieve these ends, I think we shall have to conclude that he has not proved his case. Indeed, I go further, and say that I discern certain very positive dangers in his proposal, which threaten not merely to defeat his ends, but also to cause trouble of a more or less serious order in other directions. I want here to be quite plain. As a purely abstract proposition divorced from existing conditions, His Highness of Alwar's proposal has much to commend it. I can conceive that in a different adjustment of our political relations with Government—an adjustment that many of us would like to see for other reasons as well—I might, and probably should, entertain quite different views from those which I am now expressing. But, Your Excellency, we are living in the world as it exists to-day, and not in Utopia. We are not called to decide as to whether His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's proposal might or might not be a good thing, if all were for the best in the best of all possible worlds. We have to consider how it will operate here and now, and in existing conditions: and when we bring it to the test of hard facts, I feel certain myself that it will not work.

Let me remark in the first place that the effect of the proposal will be to increase the duration of minorities by three years. And I want to ask Your Highnesses quite plainly, whether you are so convinced of the advantages of minority administration that you are prepared to ask for this extension? If you believe that minority administration is so good, that you are prepared to extend it, why not be logical, and insist that no Ruler shall obtain his powers until he has beyond all doubt attained the age at which his character is formed and his judgment matured? Why not press for minority administrations which will last until the Ruler is 30, 40, or even 50? In fact why allow him to attain Ruling powers at all? At least let us be consistent in these matters: and if we believe that the reasons for the extension of minority rule are so strong, let us go on to urge—which I notice that His Highness of Alwar carefully refrained from doing—that minority should endure to the Shastric age of 24 or 25. And what would happen in the case of those Princes who even now get their powers only at 19 or 20 when the normal age is 18? I suppose they will have to wait until 23 or 24 at least.

My next point is this. The extension of the minority period from 18 to 21, while it gives rise to particular dangers of its own, will not in my judgment secure the advantages which His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar appears to discern in it. Let me elaborate my line of thought a little. I do not believe that there is or that there can be, a sufficient difference between the mental and moral development of a young Prince at 18 and at 21, to make it worth while to run the risk involved by the extension,

of minority administration for another three years. At 18 a young Prince is a man, if he is not already married, he is about to be married. He may even already have an heir. Are you going to permit such a young man to remain in tutelage for another three years? And if you do so, what will be the result? His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar says "the young Prince will serve an apprenticeship in British India, he will travel, he will see the world, he will fit himself for his position". I differ entirely. The young Prince will fret and chafe at the restrictions imposed upon him he will distrust his Ministers: he will distrust his Political Advisers. He will be conscious every moment that things are being done which he either does not want done at all or which he does not want done in the way they are being done. Every month, every week, every day, he chafes. Being human, he accumulates a long memory of resentments, and when at long last he gets his powers, these resentments lead him to take action which in other circumstances he would have deemed wholly inexpedient. That is one danger I see. And I see another. Between the ages of 18 and 21, the young Prince, as I have said, will have no powers over his State. Are you going to banish him, to force him to live away from his own people, in something like exile? Because if you do not, the position of those persons who are carrying on the minority administration will be almost impossible. There will be intrigue, uncertainty, instability. How can an administrator expect loyal service from the servants of the State, when those same servants know that in a few years' time, they will have to answer for their action to a different master? When the Prince is a child this does not matter: when he is a man of 18, it matters very much. So much, indeed, that the administrator is either reduced to something like impotence, or else, unless he be strong and conscientious, he exercises his authority at the bidding of his young master, who will thereupon experience the ill effects of that most fatal of all political influence—the possession of power divorced from responsibility.

These then are some of the dangers which seem to me inherent in His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's proposal. With the objects he has in view, I sympathise: but I suggest for his consideration that he would better attain these ends by a different road. The remedy for the ills he discerns, lies in our own hands. Let us see to it that our administrations are so framed and conducted, that our heirs find smooth running machines, needing no change. The mere impetus of the machine will suffice to carry a young Prince through the difficult years of immaturity. He will learn far more by learning to rule his own people, than by acquiring theoretical experience of other systems of Government. Let him travel and let him learn: but let him first acquire the elements of administration in his own home. By continuing his minority from 18 to 21, you bias the whole of his mind against the existing system of administration, no matter how good it may be. Do not, I beg Your Highnesses, run such a risk. Let the young Prince when he attains 18, assume his proper place in the eyes of his people. Let him feel that he has powers: it is the only way he will learn to use them wisely.

I most regretfully, for the reasons I have given, oppose the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I would preface my remarks by expressing regret that in spite of certain very wise observations by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar I find myself in considerable disagreement with much of what His Highness has urged, and totally, strongly and unequivocally opposed to his resolution which I hope the Chamber of Princes will reject in an unmistakable manner. His Highness in his speech excused himself that he was not conspiring with the Government of India in this matter.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: I did not mention this.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Since I feel sure no one has ever attempted to accuse him or anyone else or thought of anyone being in

conspiracy with His Highness, it is all the easier to accept His Highness' explanation. His Highness, however, if I may take the liberty of saying so, took the occasion, if I understood him correctly, of attributing motives to those who differ from him of coming here with set speeches and with pre-conceived notions and without an open mind which was to be made up finally after listening to His Highness' sage advice and to the debate that may ensue. A man who is not open to conviction and one who, for cogent reasons, does not at times get converted to others' views is not worth bothering about. But let me say clearly that after weighing very carefully all that His Highness has said and urged I not only still adhere to my original views but can really find nothing which leads to their reconsideration—views which are based on principles as well as on facts. For in this present-day world of ours we must differentiate and distinguish between the ideal and the practical. And whilst in no way accepting His Highness' proposition—and the ideal is not easy always to attain, nor necessarily proves the panacea for all evils—I fear His Highness in his enthusiasm has made out a case for the ideal and has, I must respectfully point out, failed to keep prominently before him some of the difficulties and pitfalls which beset the path of the impatient idealist and, may I venture to add, all those who sometimes are apt to look at things in a visionary manner. His Highness in his resolution has not provided, for instance, for the slightest elasticity—most necessary in all such cases. In common with some others I have given the subject prolonged thought, and most anxious thought, for nearly 30 years past—ever since I came of age and especially during the period when my son and heir was a minor. I thank God that he is now 25. So I shall, I trust, be absolved from speaking from any personal bias or for personal motives. In my work as Chancellor I have specially during the past 12 years not only gone into this question very thoroughly, but I had also worked some facts and figures which I regret I did not bring with me from Bikaner for reasons which will be apparent shortly. It is true that none of us can lay claim to being finished orators or to the wonderful flow of oratory, to the beautiful flowery language, and to the similies and metaphors, of which His Highness is such a wonderful exponent. Whilst on occasions we have sincerely admired the brilliant 'extempore' speeches to which His Highness can fairly lay claim, I venture to add that there are some amongst us here who can follow the trend of events in a debate, and who can at least—however poorly as compared with His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar—give expression of our thoughts in, I fear I must admit, plain, yet I trust none the less intelligible, language, even though we have to refer to copious notes in order to refresh our memories. I am sure the entire Chamber appreciates, and was moved by the eloquent manner in which His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar expressed his deep solicitude for the well-being and contentment of our subjects. Indeed I consider his appeal yesterday a most touching one. But I feel equally certain that His Highness will be the first to grant that all the Princes, who are opposed to him, are not tyrannical despots—unmindful of their duties or without a vestige of sympathy for their people or regard for their subjects' welfare. His Highness yesterday also made repeated references to the need for common-sense being brought to bear on the consideration of this question and I feel equally confident that His Highness will not deny that some others who are speaking on this question can also lay claim to some common-sense. I was glad to hear yesterday that His Highness referred to himself as an optimist. Those of us who have known him intimately know that he is an optimist; but I fear a critical and impartial review of his speech yesterday will reveal that the remarks, views, evils and dangers which he so eloquently described as arising from investing a young Ruler with powers at 18 are, however, unwittingly, none the less, exaggerated and painted in dark colours. Finally, before examining this resolution in detail I would add that many of us are well aware how even a hopeless case can, in the hands of an able advocate, appear incontestably strong. I beg Your Highnesses to bear this in mind when considering arguments placed by a brother Prince so able as His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

At the Standing Committee in December last I understood that this resolution was to be about the education and training of Princes, which was confirmed by the typed tentative copy of the agenda we received. Imagine, therefore, my surprise when after my arrival in Delhi a brother Prince asked my opinion regarding the resolution in its present form. That resolution was changed, if I may say so, in one way out of recognition—I make no complaint against His Highness or anyone else.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: The original was not made by myself.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner :containing hard and fast proposals which, I venture to say, are also nothing short of being arbitrary; and the proposition before us to-day is that no young Ruler shall in any circumstances whatsoever be hereafter entrusted with Ruling powers until he is 21. This obviously, even if it is indirectly connected with education and training, is another matter altogether. I am all for considering the question of the education and training of young Princes. There can be no subject more important—and I gratefully recall that in no minority administration was a more earnest effort made than by Colonel Vincent, the British Resident at Bikaner, between 1896 and 1898, to try and secure for me the best of administrative training. And here is a point which it is well for us to bear in mind. He was the British Resident and President of the Council of Regency. He made a strenuous effort to train and prepare me for my future responsibility in spite of the difficulties placed in the way on account of the obvious hostility of the Indian Vice-President and some of the Indian members of my Regency Council who were attempting to prevent my getting powers at 18. In the same way no Ruler, past or present, has had—and I do not believe that any Ruler in the future can ever have, a more conscientious, painstaking and unselfish tutor and guardian, or a greater gentleman, or a more sympathetic friend, than my tutor and guardian, Sir Brian Egerton to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude which I can never repay throughout my lifetime. Sir Brian Egerton gave me his confidence and of his best in his attempt to impart the best administrative training possible, so as to fit me for my duties as the Ruler of an important State in Rajputana. I trust, therefore, that I shall not appear to be speaking in an irresponsible manner, when I say that in spite of my opposition to the spirit and the letter of His Highness of Alwar's resolution as it is before us, I fully appreciate that the more we Princes, amongst ourselves, and with His Excellency and the British Government discuss these all important questions, the better, although I would add at the same time that I consider it difficult, if not impossible, thoroughly or satisfactorily to deal with such an important matter in a full dress debate in this Chamber. It would be more appropriate to appoint a Committee which is a proposition we can consider another time, if and when found necessary. And on this Committee I would urge that there should be appointed Princes, Ministers, and particularly those Ministers who are intimately connected with minority Administrations and educationalists and specially those who have had experience of training young Rulers. Such a Committee was appointed in 1916 at the first Conference of Princes held in Delhi; but as much water has since flown under the bridges, and more experience has been gained, the advantages of appointing another Committee would be obvious. I would therefore, only make a few special observations on the subject of the training and education of the Princes before I proceed further to-day. In the small States it may perhaps be necessary to send Rulers outside, as suggested by His Highness, for administrative training. But in the bigger States such training can only be best and most suitably carried out within the State itself, where the minor can grasp local affairs and where all kinds of training including Secretariat work could best be imparted to him. The benefits of University, or Diploma, education *versus* special training for Rulers of States is another matter—a matter eminently suitable for such a Committee. But I must confess my surprise at the great importance specially attached to, and the particular emphasis laid by, His Highness of Alwar on

foreign travel before the minor comes of age and his reference to education in the West. I am prepared fully to concede the advantages of foreign travel and no one underrates the benefits of education in the great educational centres and countries of the West. But I am one of those who hold that it is better that a Prince should travel in good company at a later age, after his coming of age and taking over the reins of Government when his mind would be ready better to receive, to grasp, and think out things for himself and weigh them in the balance. From some tragic results in some of our Princely families—including young Princes being alienated from their own country, hating the time of their stay in India—in their own homes and with their own people—and longing to get back to Europe—I must frankly state that I am one of those who strongly hold that the disadvantages and dangers of minors and young men travelling and residing in the west far outweigh the benefits which do undoubtedly accrue therefrom. Leaving out other Princes, I would remind His Highness of Alwar that he has acquired his genius!—and I speak with sincerity when I refer to the many qualities which he undoubtedly possesses—that he has acquired his knowledge and his administrative training without having undertaken any foreign travels whilst he was a minor. Our whole life is a course of training and education—which can never be completed. But it is impossible to believe—for at least the bigger States—that the period of apprenticeship in the Government of India Secretariat or in other States will be of any real or practical value or stand the new Ruler in good stead in days to come. I am afraid I may have failed to grasp some of His Highness' remarks and points—and I have naturally no copy of his speech before me—but if I understood His Highness rightly, I am constrained to remark that the very short period of actual administrative training which His Highness yesterday outlined in the various highly technical branches on probation would be rendering that young Ruler's administrative training and education practically useless, and I doubt if any Ruler could go through all the various details which His Highness outlined yesterday, not only by the time he attained the age of 21, but as I think His Highness the Chancellor remarked in another way, until a very much later period.

In India it is, I believe, beyond dispute that the legal age of attaining majority is 18, and that is applicable, I understand, to Princes and commoners alike. I have never heard any official argument advanced in all these years that the age of a Ruler is 21 under any special enactment that may prevail in any part of British India, as for instance the Court of Wards Act. And to apply such provisions and enactments relating purely to British India to the Princes and States, where British Indian Legislature does not apply, would, I submit, if it were seriously advanced—which I say I have never heard advanced—would not only be wrong, but I believe constitutionally and otherwise wrong, and morally wrong also. Whilst on the subject of education may I add that I appreciate that general principles are easy to formulate as regards the question of education and training of a Ruler and that they will always bear modification in every case and will have to be elastic and must be elastic so as to allow their being made to suit different temperaments and conditions of life of minors. Delicate and difficult as such matters are, psychologically, the main factor in order to ensure satisfactory results is the sympathetic understanding of each other by tutor and pupil. Let me here say straight off that I do not make any fetish of 18, or any other particular age. To insist that in all circumstances and in all cases a Ruler must be given his powers at 18 would be as unfair to the Ruler himself—apart from being unfair to the States and its subjects—as it would be dangerous and bad definitely to deny to a Prince his undoubted right in all normal circumstances to attain his majority and to come into his own at 18. I hold strongly that we in this Chamber have no right, when a Ruler shows fitness, and everything being normal—to move a resolution denying the Ruler his right constitutionally, legally and otherwise. That in Europe people come of age at 21 is totally beside the mark. All persons acquainted with the East know—and must know,

unless they are biassed—that in the warmer climates boys and girls grow up and develop considerably earlier, hence the difference in the legal age of majority between Europe and India. It is well within my own time and recollection that in almost every case in the natural and ordinary course of events a Ruler got his powers at 18; it was the rule at the time, written or unwritten, and an exception to the rule was only made in exceptional circumstances. It was the practice when Political Officers wrote a few months before a ruler came of age, to begin something like this: “As His Highness the Maharaja will attain the age of 18 next”—let us say—“December, I have the honour to recommend the following proposals for investing His Highness with powers at the age of 18”. Not only that, but everything—his education, his political training, the work and programme of the Regency administration—everything was worked from start to finish on that basis and on the assumption that in the normal course of events—unless the Ruler showed his unfitness, or there were exceptional circumstances—he would be invested with Ruling powers at the age of 18. There was not then, and should not now be, any anxiety or uncertainty on the subject. That it was done in the past and answered well in most cases is a fact which I can prove from statistics and names of various Princes. That it can still be done—if the programme is worked up to and the idea is kept in mind that a Ruler comes of age at 18, is demonstrated—if I may modestly say so—by the training I gave to my son and heir in spite of the difficulties and handicaps which were imposed by my prolonged absences during the War, and there are many others present here who will testify to their having received training and having finished their training by, and coming of age at, 18.

Any uncertainty and anxiety now—which is bad for all concerned—chiefly arose at the beginning of this century, when Rulers began to be given powers at 21 or thereabouts; and this was rectified by Lords Minto and Hardinge, and now I believe powers are given at an age between 19 and 20. But these changes did not arise out of any specific case or incident or series of cases or incidents. One of the greatest drawbacks of the present system is that the programme, and the pace, of the administrative training of the young Ruler is proceeded with now at a slackened speed, and on the presumption that he will not receive his powers until 21 or 20 or whatever the case may be. I can cite a definite instance—which I will not do to-day by name—of a relation of mine—an important Prince—about whose education and training I was consulted, and there it was stated in the programme of training that on the assumption that His Highness would come of age at 21, the administrative training was to begin—I cannot exactly remember, let us say—at 19. I urged that that was not the way, but that the right way was to go on with an extensive training and to assume that His Highness would receive his powers at 18 or as soon after that as he showed himself fit and had received a sufficient and reasonable amount of training. I think that Prince, who is not a thousand miles away from me to-day, will feelingly support and bear out what I say.

I shall now venture to take up some of Your Excellency's and Your Highnesses' time by giving a few hard facts and figures which are of an irrefutable nature. Both His Highness, our present Chancellor, and myself received our powers at the age of 18. I trust we have not been absolute hopeless failures. Out of the seven Princes on the Standing Committee—which, I trust, represents the considered views of Your Highnesses, and it may be implied that they do enjoy Your Highnesses' confidence and that you have some faith in their experience, in their—I will not say—sagacity, but doubtless it will be admitted that they are not entirely lacking in common sense—His Highness of Cutch, His Highness of Patiala, and myself, all three of us received our powers at 18. His Highness of Alwar is the 4th Prince. He ascended the throne as a minor, but as he said, received his powers at 21. Of the three remaining members, namely, Their Highnesses of Kashmir, Bhopal and Nawanagar, none of them came to the

throne as minors. I have had no time to work out facts and figures, but off hand I can mention names which I trust will suffice for the purposes of my argument. There are present here several other Princes, notably His Highness the Gaekwar, His Highness of Kapurthala, and, though absent, I would specially cite the name of His Highness of Mysore, who have made names for themselves and whose training and education was completed at 18 and the future of themselves and their States was in no sense marred; nor can I bring myself to believe was this the result of any restrictions and conditions imposed on their having received powers at 18. In fact many Rulers who got powers at 18 have, as I can show by giving names at a later date, proved themselves to be better than some who received their powers at a later age at 19, 20 or 21. This to my mind conclusively demonstrates not only that it is possible to obtain and turn out good Rulers by entrusting them with their powers at the time when they legally come of age at 18 in all normal circumstances, but there need be no uncertainty or anxiety in the matter. I am aware that it is the fashion for the older generation to look down upon the younger as not quite coming up to their own form and standard. Generally speaking however the young generation is also made of the right stuff and have the makings of good Rulers, and they are aided by centuries of the hereditary instinct of ruling, if only they were given the right education and the right training. Therefore any failures—and there must alas be some failures—such failures must be attributed not to the age, not to their being entrusted with powers at the age of 18, but I think that in most cases it will be found that failure has been as some of us ventured to bring forward before His Excellency in Simla at the Round Table Conference last May—the result of faulty training, of faulty education, of faulty upbringing and faulty methods applied thereto, apart from of course the personal equation. His Highness, if I understood him aright, also made capital out of certain restrictions and conditions openly or secretly imposed upon a young Ruler of 18 when he was entrusted with the administration. And if I again understood him aright, His Highness attributed the success of such Rulers to such conditions and reservations on their powers. It is difficult to deal with the subject in the course of this debate without taking the undue time of this House.

(Interruption, *His Highness of Alwar*: I don't think I said that, Your Highness.)

His Highness of Bikaner: Anyhow the subject is important. I don't think it will be possible to cite concrete facts and details to support any such idea, if it exists in any one's mind. Also His Highness gave some instances of various conditions imposed which really were not imposed in the case of several of us concerned, or all of them were not. It is also apparent that cases of failures, whether they received their powers at the age of 18 or later, are rare, and on closer examination it will be found that those, as I have said already, are attributable to other cases. His Highness the Chancellor has already stated that on the lines of the programme proposed by His Highness it would not be possible to complete his education till 30, 40 or even later. And if I remember the words which His Highness used, I think the ambitious programme chalked out by His Highness is a case of attempting too much in some cases and too little in others. His Highness talked yesterday of—I think his exact words were—"the bump" which came, denoting a sudden change in the life of a young Ruler from a student to a full fledged, uncontrolled and autocratic despot suddenly come into his power. No one as far as I am aware has in the past or the present suggested any such catastrophic change. As for the proposal or reference to the subject of giving powers gradually and allowing slowly the transfer of departments to a young Ruler, I would beg Your Highnesses to dismiss that proposition, as from the actual trial given to it in the past, the cure has proved worse than the malady. Past experience has shown that this manner of giving partial powers and gradually transferring departments to a young Ruler is most obnoxious in practice and in

effect, and has led to intrigues and to the creation of other intolerable conditions—for both the young Ruler and the Regency Administration—and to dual authority, responsibility and control, and is one with which I trust that His Excellency the Viceroy, the British Government, and the Princes will have nothing to do in the future. The same was suggested in my time. After consultation with my tutor, I declined to accept any such arrangement during my own minority. If all these apprehensions entertained regarding a Ruler if he got his powers at 18—if all these restrictions implied or expressed—were true, at least some of them would apply equally to the age of 21. Happily not all or majority of our young Princes are weak or ill-balanced. Otherwise it would indeed be a bad outlook for our States. I admire His Highness' industry in searching various points near and far and his going even into hoary antiquity and quoting the age of 25, when I believe the normal age of a man was looked upon to be at least one hundred years. His Highness quoted something from some where which I regret, I cannot recollect—not being so learned and having long ago forgotten most of the Sanskrit which I left off, alas! some 34 years ago. I cannot compare with His Highness and compete with him on equal terms. But if I am not mistaken His Highness yesterday said something in effect that in ancient Hindu days a man was not considered grown up till 25 as an additional argument why a minor Ruler should not be given his powers at 18. First I would say, if not at 18, why at only 21? Then, logically why not go up to the period His Highness mentioned, namely 25? Secondly one of the few things I now remember of Sanskrit is a couplet from Chanakya—

प्राप्ते तु षोडशे वर्षे पुत्रं मित्रवदाचरेत्

implying that a youth should be credited with wisdom at the age of 16. Probably His Highness of Alwar had in mind the four Ashrams, or stages, of our Hindu Shastras. In his proposition that a man was not fully grown till 25 he was referring to Grahasth Ashram—the domestic stage—when a man may enter upon married life. But, according to the Shastras His Highness, and all of us, should retire into the wilderness at the age of 50. Perhaps, having reached that stage of spiritual ascendancy, His Highness may be prepared to do so. But in these degenerate days, I for one—and I fear many more amongst us—will not be prepared to go into the wilderness at the age of 50 to follow Vanaprastha!

Let us consider now some of the drawbacks and dangers of depriving a Ruler of his inherent right when he came of age to rule over his State, if he is otherwise qualified. First and foremost the young Ruler would then come into his own, estranged from the British Government; estranged from the Regency administration; estranged from the Administrator or Regent and other members of the Regency Administration—who would otherwise, in other circumstances, in more favourable circumstances, be available to offer him advice, good guidance and attention, available for being associated, at the wish of the Ruler for at least some time after his coming of age. And the necessity, the imperative necessity, of wise administrators and Counsellors being at his side when a Ruler enters upon the responsible career cannot be denied. Then again young Rulers would generally be married after coming to the age of 18 or 19, to which His Highness the Chancellor referred, and whether invested with Ruling powers or not after that and after a man has attained the legal age of majority, it will obviously not be possible to lead or to drive him like the young man who was a minor; and unless there is sufficient to keep the young Ruler fully occupied, unless responsibility is thrust upon him, unless his interests are stimulated and his energies diverted into channels of administration, and unless he is kept busy, such a young Ruler will be largely surrounded by zenana influence and by other undesirable people and be apt not only to lose all, or considerable, interest and his keenness for his future task but he may also likely have

his thoughts or energies directed in other channels. On the other hand the prospects and certainty—if he does well and in all ordinary and normal circumstances—of his coming of age and into his own, and of ruling his State actively at the age of 18 are undoubtedly a great incentive which stirs up a young Ruler to try and fit himself for the task as much as circumstances and his capacity will allow at 18.

Now there are many things done in minorities for which the young Ruler, when he comes of age, his State and his subjects are grateful. That we must all straight off and gratefully acknowledge. I am therefore in no way minimising the many beneficial results and measures introduced in a minority administration when I say that the history of many States, in spite of that, clearly demonstrates, on the other hand, some very grave evils arising from minority administrations, of some of which evils some of us have the most bitter experiences and from which we suffered in the task of carrying on our own administrations for years after we came of age. I am not necessarily referring to any class of officers associated with the minority, much less am I referring here to Political Officers or to the British Government. As often as not—and I would say more often—such results and evils have arisen from their purely local, or Indian, Ministers responsible, or forming part of, the Minority Administration. No Minority Administration or Regent can be the same, or have the same keen and vested interest, and the same power of doing good, as the Ruler himself; and therefore those of us, who have sons and grandsons of a small age, cannot view with equanimity or favour or accept the proposition that a young Ruler shall definitely never assume the reins of government until he has reached the age of 21. We should like a relaxation even of the present procedure of deferring till some time after 18 the investiture with powers of a young Ruler. On the other hand as I have said I make no fetish of 18 or any particular age.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala who followed His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar yesterday did not appear to me to be echoing to the letter His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's proposal. And I quote His Highness' remarks to show that as far as they go I am in general accord with the same.

“The question as to when a young Ruler can be safely trusted with full powers and responsibility for the government of his State is one that calls for very careful reflection and wise decision. To my mind it would be difficult to lay down a hard and fast rule. A certain amount of elasticity would be eminently desirable. In some cases circumstances, personal fitness and qualities of a young Ruler may fully justify assumption of Ruling powers at the age of 18, assisted by able and experienced advisers. But in other cases a postponement till a later date may be amply warranted by local conditions or personal qualifications”.

Whilst therefore I would urge that 18 should be the ordinary age when a Ruler should in normal circumstances be given his powers and everything else should be conducted on that assumption and programme, in exceptional cases where a minor Ruler has given clear proof of being immature, unripe and otherwise unsuited to bear his heavy responsibilities, in such extraordinary circumstances, no reasonable person should object to the minority continuing, as an exception to the rule, provided it was only for so long as the circumstances absolutely necessitated it and was for the object of trying to fit the Ruler for his future task. In such cases His Excellency the Viceroy, aided by the local officers and the local Regency Administration, can alone be the best judges, provided however that care is taken to see that the recommendations of the Regency Administration are based on facts and not on any personal or biased grounds. I will repeat in conclusion that I am unable to see any real need nor any justification for the moving of this resolution, much less for our accepting it. I can only hope that it is due to His Highness of Alwar's love and desire to encourage lively discussions

and to his desire and love for raising debates in this Chamber. In any case I look upon this resolution as a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it will enable the Princes, who are not unmindful of the best interests of their States and their subjects, unmistakably to give expression to their strong feelings on the subject and in order that His Excellency the Viceroy and the British Government might clearly understand—what, I believe, I am correct in describing as—the strong conviction and feeling on the subject entertained by the Princes generally, and keeping this purpose in view and following the line taken by that gallant little ship “Revenge” to which His Highness referred yesterday, (interruption, *His Highness of Alwar*: Not by name) I hope that His Highness of Alwar will not withdraw his resolution, but will push it to its logical conclusion by putting it to test and receiving the definite vote of this distinguished Assembly for and against it.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to speak on the resolution so eloquently and ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar. I take it that the idea underlying the resolution now before this august house is that every Prince should have adequate time for preparation in the all important task of Government, and that he should complete his education before he assumes the reins of Government in his hands. Education is a supreme necessity in the case of a Prince, for he will one day have in his hands the making or marring of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of human beings entrusted to his care by God. How he is to acquit himself will chiefly depend on how he has been prepared and equipped for his great task. Since Providence has placed him in a privileged and a highly responsible position, his education should be a matter of the most vital concern to those to whom is entrusted the duty of educating and training him. It will, I imagine, be readily conceded that a Prince requires a very special system of education; ordinary school education will never do for him. He wants much more, far more. This being so it is important that he should have enough time for his training. In passing I may say that our Chiefs’ Colleges have, in a large measure, failed in achieving this object. That broad mental outlook, that largeness of heart, that generosity of nature, that burning desire to prove useful to mankind that laudable bent of mind which makes a Prince place the interests of his people above his own and all other interests, that love of truth, that passion for administering impartial justice and granting liberty of conscience to all whom he is called upon to govern; all these and many other similar qualities are what one would like to see implanted and developed in a young Prince. How sad it is to reflect that the Chiefs’ Colleges have been attaching far more importance to other matters, and have thus failed in justifying their existence.

We were all gratified to learn from Your Excellency’s inaugural address that the problem is being considered, and I for one hope earnestly that the Chiefs’ Colleges, in their present form, will disappear and in their place will be ushered into existence Public schools of the type of Eton, Harrow and Rugby where such an atmosphere should be created and traditions established that every Prince should feel proud to have been educated there, and not look back upon the days spent in his College with other feelings.

For all such education the element of time is the most important factor. It should, I think, be generally admitted that 18 is too young an age for a Prince to assume control over his State. His judgment is immature, his character is yet in the making and his knowledge of men and things is too meagre to safely place the destinies of his people in his hands. In making this general statement I do not forget that there may be brilliant exceptions. As I look round this Chamber I see some great Princes who have won glory and renown even though they started the work of Government at the age of eighteen; but after all how many Sayaji Raos, Ganga Singhs, Madho Raos, Bhupinder Singhs and Jagjit Singhs does our Order possess? To my mind, therefore, it seems very necessary that a

Ruling Prince should, as a general rule, not be invested with full powers until he has reached the age of 21; but in cases of exceptional merit and ability I see no reason why the investiture should not come earlier, say at the age of 19 or 20 if in the opinion of the Viceroy such a course would seem advisable. After all what sort of education can a Prince receive up to the age of 18. We may assume that even under the best of circumstances, he has gained a little more knowledge than a matriculate; but surely this is not enough. The real education of a Prince would start after this when he begins his study of special subjects like Economics, Civics, Public Finance and Administration and Military Science followed by sound practical training in civil, revenue and judicial work. I venture to think that barring prodigies, the education and training of a Prince cannot be completed before the age of 21, and subject to the reservation regarding exceptional cases of merit, it would be extremely desirable to accept the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I came here to-day with the hope of making a fairly lengthy speech, but the able and eloquent speeches by His Highness the Chancellor and His Highness of Bikaner have left no scope whatsoever for further arguments on the subject. I therefore beg to associate myself strongly with the views put forward by Their Highnesses in opposing this resolution.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; when moving his resolution yesterday His Highness of Alwar referred to how he had seen in the House of Commons the winning over of the house by brilliant oratory and arguments when before the debate took place the whole House was against the proposition. I can boldly venture to say that His Highness very nearly succeeded by his able and persuasive speech to make me and perhaps many others feel a little shaky in their convictions. But a little respite and further consideration has again made me personally feel convinced that His Highness' proposition is not only not quite a correct thing but is really dangerous. I am quite convinced that it is hardly possible to fix a definite age for the assumption of ruling powers. The case has been fully and most ably dealt with by His Highness of Bikaner and therefore I shall only endeavour to make some very brief observations.

Your Highnesses, personalities vary. One Prince may be quite fit and quite capable at the age of 18 to assume full powers, the other may not be even fit at 21. His Highness of Bikaner has pointed out some brilliant examples of Rulers who got their powers at 18. I entirely agree with him. The age between 18 and 21 is the time when a young Prince begins to feel his ground and if his legitimate powers are withheld from him, he becomes suspicious, suspects everyone around him, his guardian, his faithful ministers and servants, even the Political Officers. When he has become fully conscious of his position and his responsibilities, his natural cravings for power are a real danger to himself, his State, his faithful and trusted servants and officers.

On the other hand there have been failures where Princes have succeeded after passing the age limit of 21. An heir becomes Ruler automatically on the death of the last Ruler. He is in every respect master of his State, and as soon as he begins to feel he can take part in the activities of his Government, it is dangerous to attempt to keep him away from them until and unless there are some serious and legitimate reasons for it. I feel that being three years older or younger is not a strong enough reason for doing so. As regards education I feel that nothing can stop a Prince from continuing his studies after his assumption of power. On the other hand, if a Prince makes up his mind not to get wise, no power in the world can compel him to do so. Age limit will not help him and therefore, Your Highnesses, I hope that the young Ruler, if he is going to be a success, will start on those lines even at the age of 18. If he is destined to be a failure no age limit can prevent it. With these brief remarks I most respectfully differ from the resolution of His Highness of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch : Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses ; I came to this meeting to-day with no intention of speaking, but the subject before us is such, the importance of the subject is such, that it has induced me to add a few remarks to the eloquent speeches which we have heard from Their Highnesses who have preceded me. The question of the education of minor Princes is a very important one, but to my mind the subsequent issue raised, namely, that of the age at which they could be considered to be fit to undertake their duties, is of even greater importance. The two views, one advocating the age-limit of majority being raised to 21 and the other in favour of adhering to the present practice, have been put forward most ably and fully by Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Alwar and Bikaner and by those of Their Highnesses who have spoken either in support or otherwise of that proposition. I do not think it is necessary for me to take up the time of this House by repeating the arguments which have been so fully expressed. I do not think Their Highnesses have left anything unsaid.

I only wish to support strongly, to even more strongly emphasise, the need, from the point of view of all parties concerned, that is, of the Rulers, their subjects, their officials, their Ministers, and the Government of India as well, of adhering to the present practice of recognising 18 as the age of majority, except in very exceptional circumstances, when it may be necessary to defer the handing over of Ruling powers beyond the age of 18. With these brief remarks, I wish most emphatically to support the motion of rejection of the resolution of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, which has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau : Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses ; I rise to oppose the Resolution moved by His Highness of Alwar. From the Resolution it appears to be the wish of His Highness that a ruler should be granted ruling powers at the age of 21 and not before. This age limit, according to His Highness of Alwar, is quite modest in view of the consideration that according to the Shastras, no man is deemed fit for family life (Grahstha-Ashrama) till he attains the age of 25.

The reliance placed upon the Shastras cannot, in my opinion, be considered sound in view of the fact that all the rules laid down in the Shastras for the different stages of man are incompatible with the changed conditions of modern society. Let me here point out that there is an injunction in the Shastras that a man should retire from worldly life at the age of 50. When in this age even common people find it very difficult to follow this injunction what to say of the Princes ? If the assistance of the Shastras is invoked without due regard to the spirit of the times I would not be surprised if the Princes were some day asked to consider a resolution to lead a retired life at the age prescribed.

Considering the proposition from another standpoint, it appears to have been assumed by His Highness that the Princes invested with ruling powers at the age of 18 have generally been unsuccessful. I, however, personally think that there are many in our midst who having been invested with ruling powers at 18 have proved quite efficient and worthy rulers and some have even acquired international fame.

May I say that unless and until comparative statistics are collected on this point, the question is thoroughly examined in the light of those statistics and the result on examination is found to go against the age limit of 18, it cannot be said that a good case is made out in favour of the proposition and that the matter has reached the stage when it should be taken up for consideration by the Chamber. It would be quite unfair in its absence to deprive the rulers of the advantage that they at present enjoy. Further, while I admit the fact that there may be cases which require consideration in view of their special conditions, I am not at all in favour of making any hard and fast rule in this connection.

On these considerations, I beg to oppose the resolution of His Highness of Alwar.

His Excellency the Viceroy : Unless any other of Your Highnesses desires to speak I propose to call upon the Maharaja of Alwar if he is willing to reply.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar : Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses ; I expected some impromptu orations yesterday but the adjournment motion of the debate deprived me of the opportunity which I hoped to enjoy and Their Highnesses of Patiala and Bikaner have spoken to-day in eloquent terms in their speeches I very nearly appealed to the Chair for the same privilege of adjournment motion of the debate till to-morrow, so that I might also prepare my answers adequate to the seriousness of the propositions that have been moved by Their Highnesses in their various observations. But I think that the debate has moved sufficiently far enough now for me to make my observations in the end which will be few. I have had a concentrated fire concentrated upon me in regard to this resolution, for fixing the age-limit at 21. It has given a splendid opportunity to Their Highnesses to display their oratorical powers on a resolution in which they knew their own strength lay in numbers. It was not a situation that I had altogether not foreseen, and therefore it was riding a safe horse when Their Highnesses chose to tear me and my arguments to bits and pieces. But at any rate as His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said not only my love of debate and hearing something happening in this Chamber of interest has been fulfilled but opinions have been expressed which will be valuable in their ultimate aspect in giving the final solution to the problem that we have before us. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, as the Chancellor, has also taken advantage of his position by placing himself first on the list of speakers to open this concentrated fire upon me. I propose therefore to address a few remarks to His Highness in reply to the speech which he has just delivered. I thank him cordially for the compliments that he has paid to my humble personality. His Highness has admired my intellectual gymnastics and gyrations. I was almost hoping,—would it have been too much to hope—that His Highness had really admired also the real truth and the force of the arguments that I had expressed in regard to the age limit of 21. But of all the arguments that I have heard, I think that the one that His Highness of Patiala gave expression to was the one, if I am not reading the minds of the House incorrectly, which is at the back of most of Your Highnesses' minds, namely that under present circumstances it is not advisable to bring in the age limit at the so called advanced figure of 21. But as His Highness stated, when new adjustments are made, as we sincerely hope, as the result of various works that are being performed in various directions, a state of affairs will be reached more satisfactory, we hope, than may in the minds of some exist at present, that then it would be safe to advance to this reasonable, logical, irrefutable age limit of 21. His Highness in his attempt to tear my logic to pieces referred to the fact that if you fix the limit at 21, why should it not be fixed at 25, as laid down in our Shastras ? His Highness even went slightly further and said, why should not this age limit be fixed at 30, 40 or 50. Well, certainly, no one could under those circumstances have complained that the new minor, if he could be called that at that age when he came into power, would be a youth of inexperience at the age of 50 ! But in the meantime we have confined the avenues and ways whereby he can really govern his State also and have certain time for displaying his energies and for putting into practice his principles of administration, and therefore I fear that the ages which His Highness described would give him but only a brief opportunity of administering his State after he had reached the age of majority. Much discussion has taken place to-day on the age limit of 18 *vis-a-vis* 21, and the objection has been raised that the age limit of 18 should not be enhanced to 21. But I maintain respectfully that in nearly all the instances that we have seen in the last five years, certainly the age limit has already leapt the limit of 18, and most of the Princes who received their powers, I believe I am right in saying so,—I am open to correction—have been nearer 19½, so that we are not going forward from a definite limit which is strictly and inevitably adhered to at the present day. Then His Highness of Patiala said that, if you keep him too long away from his powers, the young Prince will fret and he will chafe. Well, if he frets, that might be natural. But if during that period he chaffs, I do not think that will hurt anybody. In fact he would develop a sense of humour so essential in all human beings,

especially at that early age. I hope that some of us possess that capacity still. I know I suffer from it, when I am in the company of my brother Princes at times. Perhaps His Highness meant that he would chafe. If he did, it would be natural to some extent. But if the age limit is fixed anew, as I said yesterday, I don't say that he would have any reason either to fret or to chafe at something that he knew was a certainty before him. I then turned to my elder brother, His Highness of Bikaner. His Highness then made a super-eloquent speech on which, I hope, he will believe that I am not using my superlatives in any conventional sense, for I really admire the manner in which he delivered it as well as the thoughts he gave expression to, even though I may not have agreed with His Highness, as obviously he did not agree with me. But unless His Highness made his strongest points during the few fleeting moments when I took leave to be absent from this Chamber and his best arguments were advanced and developed before Your Highnesses, the remainder to which I have already listened have, I feel constrained to say, not had an overpowering effect upon me and have not changed me from the proposition that I placed before Your Highnesses yesterday. His Highness of Bikaner also said with regard to one of my remarks that the man who cannot come with an open mind is not worth bothering about. Now I am not going to support that remark of His Highness with regard to our Order or any member of it. For in our meetings elsewhere debates take place which are perhaps even more interesting and which certainly exhaust all the resources and the avenues likely to be found for purposes of discussion in this hall, and that is all what I referred to in my remark. Whether His Highness also referred to the same remark in his reply, I am not quite sanguine in my mind. Perhaps my memory fails me as to what particular matter His Highness referred to when he described the word the tyrannical despot. I do not think that has been my view of any members of our Order. However, when His Highness comes to the point on which I attempted to give my brief reply as an interjection at the time, that my original resolution was formed in a different language and the subsequent one caused His Highness much surprise and amazement. I say that the original was not, if my memory serves me aright—and I am again open to correction—in the form of a resolution, but the purport was given there. And when the Secretary of the Chamber wrote to me asking for my resolution to be sent, I delivered to him the resolution in the language in which I have proposed to put it forward for Your Highnesses' consideration. His Highness has referred to foreign travel to which I also referred in my speech yesterday, and with regard to this subject he said that he would prefer if that travel took place at a later age when the young Prince older in age naturally than when he had assumed the reins of Government, could go and see things for himself in good company. But that is exactly the point—the company that goes with him on such occasions is the one that is selected by himself. It may be, let us hope, the most desirable company, but the company that he would have going as a minor with a guardian and under tutelage in order to see the various countries, the various modes of living and life, would certainly be different from the one that he would see if he went on his own. Then His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner laid some stress on education being received in England; and seemed, if I am correct, to be averse to that proposition. I do not express my opinion on that subject one way or another when I know that many members of my Order, some at least, are in favour of an educational training in England and in the Universities in order to breathe that independence of spirit which we find in the Englishmen who come out educated from those Universities. But as I say, I hold no brief for that part of the education and I think the only remark that I made—I speak again from memory—with regard to that subject was that when the education is given in our Universities, or even such as is given in English Universities it should be one that would fit the Prince for his future career. His Highness said that he wants more time given to the young ward for education in his own administration in his own State. I agree with him, but I have had no suggestion from anyone of Your Highnesses as to the method of that education being given and the number of years over which it should spread and also no suggestion when you think he should reasonably pass out of his College or University.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner : Those are details for the Committee, I suggested.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar : But as far as the education is concerned, as far as the education in his own administration is concerned, I agree with His Highness that he should have more time than even the one I allotted to him, provided he did not go over the age of 21, and provided some amicable solution was found and some reasonable proposition was put forward as to how that education could be given.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner : A guide could best be found from the past.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar : Then His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner also referred to the legal age of majority. I am afraid I am not a legal luminary, I am quite unacquainted with what may in India be the legal age or the illegal age, but His Highness enlightened us that in relation to something in connection with the Court of Wards the age was 21. But still I am left without any conviction on that point having not had the benefit of further elucidation as to what the real legal age meant. His Highness also said that we have no right to deny the right to young Princes to succeed to their heritage ; in other words, to assume the reins of their governments at the assumed age of 18. But I ask with all respect, have we the right to deny the young Prince the opportunity of receiving sufficient education, of receiving sufficient experience in his earlier career of life in order that he might fulfil that great trust eventually which is going to be placed in his hands when his character is formed and his education is complete. His Highness had also referred to himself and our respected and much-admired Chancellor—I speak in reverence and not in humour on this occasion—that at the age of 18—well, if I am not divulging any secrets of past history I believe and I stand again corrected if I am wrong that His Highness, when he assumed the reins of government at 18 had certain conditions imposed upon his powers, and also when I assumed the reins of government at the age of 21 I also had certain conditions imposed upon my powers. I believe I am not far wrong.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala : As far as my own case is concerned I had no conditions.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar : I did not refer to Your Highness' case.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner : Your Excellency, I do not think we can go into such details regarding conditions here.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar : But I believe that the conditions imposed on the age of 18 as well as conditions imposed on the age of 21 were—I do not think my memory is very far wrong—removed almost the same year. His Highness has mentioned very successful instances in which my brother Princes, those younger than I but still brother Princes, have succeeded to their heritage or rather have commenced to govern at the age of 18 and who have been such conspicuous successes in their administrations. His Highness recited a list with which I cordially agree. But I already said yesterday when making an attempt to give vent to my own sentiments that if I was asked to recite the other side of the picture I should be at a discount, for I should have then to enter into personalities which I said then and even more emphatically now, I have no intention and I had no intention of doing. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has also said if the age-limit is not to be 18 why not 25 as laid down by our Shastras ? My answer is that I see no possibility that the Shastras would be followed by compelling them to retire at the age of 50, for if my resolution on enhancement—my harmless, docile resolution—of the age-limit is likely to receive such opposition,

I am afraid that if somebody had the courage to move another one demanding that the Grahastha Ashram and the life of the householder should be dispensed with at the age of 50 according to our Ashram laws, it would be resented with bitterness and certainly with opposition entirely out of all proportion to that which exists in the present case. I think one of the principal points on which His Highness of Bikaner laid stress was, Don't make the age limit emphatic, make it elastic. I tried, I attempted, to give an answer to that in my opening address yesterday. Imagine the position of the Dewan, the Political Agent, the Agent to the Governor-General, even the Government of India, believed by the young Prince to be conspiring against him to keep him out of power. I admit that some natures ripen earlier than others, but I also emphasise that whatever be the natural trend of events as far as ripening of nature is concerned, that unless you have a fixed limit, that it is not probable that the limit not being fixed will encourage the Prince to commence his administration without any feelings towards those whom he might think were going against him.

I now turn, I hope, to the relief of my brother His Highness of Bikaner, to the Raja Saheb of Mandi. I thank him, as I thank His Highness of Kapurthala, for giving me his support of my resolution, though I must frankly admit that I was not exactly aware that His Highness has supported the age of 21 very definitely (*His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala interrupting*: I did not say exactly 21, I said it should be elastic) and the Raja of Mandi very kindly supported me in this matter. I am thankful to him for the exposition of his views, and we have had some interesting elucidation of his opinions when he referred to the education that might be given in institutions in India somewhat similar to institutions in England like Eton and Harrow. Perhaps His Highness might have had in his mind something that has been proposed by Mr. S. R. Das with regard to the institution to be established for the purpose somewhere in close proximity where we are to-day. I have not expressed any words of regret—may I do so in connection with the speech which His Highness of Porbunder delivered? For, he felt himself deprived completely of the remarks that he was going to make by those who preceded him. I should have loved to hear a speech at length from His Highness, even if he had contested every single point that I had tried to put forward before Your Highnesses in my opening address.

His Highness of Bhopal, when he opposed me—I am rather glad—made the confession, a very frank confession which I respect and honour that my power of oratory almost persuaded His Highness yesterday to change his opinions. However considered opinion is always the best, and His Highness has had that opportunity which I have not had in giving an answer to the debate that has taken place to-day. But nevertheless I respect His Highness' opinions. I value His Highness' arguments, I hope I do not place at any less value the arguments advanced by those who have opposed this resolution.

And now as I conclude my speech or rather my reply to the debate—I believe that is the correct Parliamentary phrase—I would gladly accept the challenge of His Highness of Bikaner to place this proposition before Your Highnesses for a definite vote in order that you might show your full revenge on all that I have said or uttered. But I have only one consideration that I have, Your Highnesses, that if I had felt that the opposition would merely have defeated me, I should have come, if I had any speech at all, with it in the pocket and have never disclosed it before this Chamber. But there is one other consideration I have in front of me, and that is rather vital in connection with minority administrations, the real proposition lies not so much with us but with the Viceroy to whom we look to safeguard our interests, if we have minorities that are not conducted in accordance with our ideals and ideas. It is to him that we can go and to him that we can look for sympathetic consideration. As we have already had experience—if I may say so to His Excellency's face without any sycophancy or flattery—it is to him that we can look to put those things right, and therefore, as I believe, I see whispers going about as to what is going to be the final conclusion of

the debate, I am going to justify them. For I feel that I would in no way like to weaken the hands of the Government in this respect for deciding what they consider to be the best, when they conduct the minority administrations in the interests of our Order. And therefore with the leave of the Chair, after having congratulated and thanked Your Highnesses—and having fulfilled the prophecy of His Highness of Bikaner that I loved debate,—I am glad that this is the only resolution that has passed over from one day's agenda into the other,—having fulfilled to some extent I hope my own ambitions, I am going to ask leave in all wisdom, with great care, but in the interests of our Order eventually that the resolution that I have moved may be withdrawn.

His Excellency the Viceroy: His Highness of Alwar has asked leave to withdraw, but before putting it to the Chamber I would conclude what has been a most instructive and stimulating debate with one or two observations of my own.

His Highness of Alwar has shown that he has not, I think, suffered in any way in the effect of his reply by the fact that a long period of preparation was denied to him. He had also the satisfaction of feeling that he had provided the Chamber with, as I have just said, a debate that has been remarkable, I think, for the vigour of conviction that it has evoked and one which has been recognised to be an important debate—more important perhaps than a good many of the debates that take place in the Chamber. The cause and the explanation is the very strong feeling, the strong difference of feeling, that has been made evident in the course of the discussion. I do not wish to make more than the briefest possible remarks of what has been said. I think His Highness of Kapurthala was right to have emphasised the close connection between the general question with which His Highness of Alwar was concerned and the question of the Chiefs' Colleges. I hope that perhaps I may on some other occasion hear more from Your Highnesses as to the connection between the two sides of the question of age and the question of education with special reference to the Chiefs' Colleges. Your Highnesses of course are aware that on this question opinion has flowed this way and that and has been modified and altered in the course of the last twenty years. I was looking up the papers a few days ago and from the days of Lord Curzon, as the Maharaja of Bikaner said, to the Viceroyalty of those who succeeded him until I think 1916, when a Committee of Princes recommended the normal age of 18 or at all events assumed the normal age of 19 up to the time of my predecessor, Lord Reading, who I think went on working on the practice of 19½ and up to my own time, when last year I think I had the opportunity of full discussions with various responsible officers of the Political Department on this question. Your Highnesses will not be surprised to learn that they were no more unanimous than Your Highnesses are as to the precise age, and I think myself, much as I sympathise with His Highness of Alwar in his desire to find a firm rule, one firm age to which everybody can adhere, I am afraid that human nature is not so made as to permit that to be very easy or possible. I rejoiced indeed to hear the Maharaja of Bikaner say that he made no fetish of 18. I certainly should make no fetish of 21, or 20, or any other age. I think these cases are bound to be judged on their merits. I think that my own inclination would be—whatever arguments there may be, and I think that there are very strong arguments for proceeding on the basis of something like 19½ or 20,—I hope that I should never so proceed as to endeavour to make that any more than 18 or 20 into a firmly fixed principle that was not sufficiently responsive to the circumstances, either of the case or the human nature involved in the case.

I think we must keep our minds as far as possible elastic on this subject although I may not conceal from Your Highnesses my own feelings that the dangers of delay up to a period of 19½ or 20 years do not seem to me as great, if you were to attempt to fix the rule at all, as the dangers would be of endeavouring to fix the rule at 18. That, I think, is all I have to say beyond concluding my remarks by saying that it has been of great interest to me,

that it has greatly impressed me, on this matter particularly, to hear the clash of opinion in the Chamber between Your Highnesses. The question is one, of course, that is almost, indeed I may say completely, a personal responsibility on the Viceroy, with the assistance and help of such advice as he can get from those of Your Highnesses and from his own advisers in the Political Department. It has been a great help to me to hear this debate and to hear the arguments that Your Highnesses have advanced on both sides, and I can assure you that I shall be able the better, after having heard these arguments, to weigh the matters that will have to be weighed on each side as these cases are, as you know much better than I, cases of great difficulty.

One other word. I do not feel in my own mind what has been advanced by one of the speakers on the subject of minority administrations. We can talk quite frankly, and I have all that matter present to my mind, but I do not think it squares with the general inclination that you and I have. But as I have said, I trust that all Your Highnesses will appreciate my general inclination that has led me to avoid the conclusion that it is possible to make a firm rule wherever you attempt to try. I think that we must in this matter preserve elasticity. (Cheers.) His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has asked for leave to withdraw his resolution. Is it your pleasure that it should be withdrawn? Those in favour (hands were raised). The ayes have it.

If it would be for the convenience of Your Highnesses, perhaps, I might make a suggestion as to the way in which it is proposed to arrange our work for the remaining days of the session. I have only had the opportunity of consulting His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, but subject to what you may say I propose that we should adjourn now and that we should begin our session to-morrow morning with the motion that I understand His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner desires to move, that, if further time is available, as I think it will be to-morrow, we should take the smaller items that are outstanding from our very important work to-day, such as Employment of Europeans in Indian States, Assessment of Compensation for Land and so on, and that, as far as we can, on Friday, we should have done all the work that we may not be able to do by Friday, giving the order of priority to the League of Nations item standing in the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner : Will the election of the Chancellor and the Standing Committee take place on that day?

His Excellency the Viceroy : I should hope so, otherwise we would find ourselves sitting on Friday and I would ask Your Highnesses, if it will be convenient for Your Highnesses, to get through the work to-day, if you do not mind. We have always reserved Saturday if we have business that requires it. We shall adjourn now and meet again to-morrow, the first business to be the resolution of His Highness of Bikaner.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY.

February 23rd, 1928.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Central India.

The Rao of Alipura.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.

His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.

His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Bombay.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhore.

The Raja of Chhota Udepur (Minor).

The Chief of Jamkhandi.

His Highness the Mir of Khairpur.

His Highness the Chief of Sangli.

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

The Thakor Saheb of Limbdi.

The Thakor Saheb of Palitana.

His Highness the Maharaja Rana Saheb of Porbandar.

His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.

Punjab States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.

His Highness the Raja of Mandi.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

His Highness the Raja of Suket.

Central Provinces.

The Raja of Korea.

| The Ruling Chief of Nandgaon.

Punjab.

The Rana of Baghat.

| The Raja of Kalsia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Under the rules I would ask Your Excellency's permission to move a resolution, copy of which has already been circulated to all Princes.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I understand that the motion of which His Highness speaks has been circulated to the members, and under the rules discretion is vested in the President to permit the motion being made, as His Highness suggests. Therefore, having regard to the circumstances of our debates, I accord leave to His Highness and invite him to move his resolution.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner regarding the appointment of the Indian States Committee and internal reforms in Indian States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I beg to move the following resolution:—

That the Chamber of Princes—

- (1) places on record its sense of gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India for the appointment of the Indian States Committee;
- (2) expresses the hope that the outcome of the deliberations and recommendations of the Committee will tend further to strengthen the ties which bind the Princes of India to the Imperial Crown and the British Empire and will inaugurate a definite and enduring policy of sympathy and trust in all matters affecting the Indian States;
- (3) appreciates that it is impossible to apply a uniform standard of administration to the diverse conditions prevailing among the States, and that a Ruler and his Government must be the best judges of what measures and methods are most suited to promote the progress and prosperity of their States and subjects;
- (4) recognizes the real and permanent value of internal reforms emanating from within the States on the initiative of their Governments; and
- (5) considers it important for the future well-being of the States that they should carefully review their administrations with a view to inaugurate, where not already existing, measures such as the following:—
 - (a) a definite code of law guaranteeing liberty of person and safety of property administered by a judiciary independent of the Executive; and
 - (b) the settlement, upon a reasonable basis, of the purely personal expenditure of the Ruler as distinguished from the public charges of administration.

Opportunity was taken during the last session of this Chamber to express our gratitude and gratification at Your Excellency's decision to convene the informal Round Table Conference, which met at Simla last May, where questions of great importance to the States were discussed—we trust to the mutual advantage of the British Government and of Indian India. Your Excellency's appreciation of the benefits accruing from such free and frank informal discussions was particularly pleasant for us to hear; and we in our turn came away happy from that Conference, full of grateful recollections of Your Excellency's courtesy and sympathetic understanding and appreciation of our standpoint; and we hope that that meeting was only the first of several more to be convened from time to time both during Your Excellency's Viceroyalty, and thereafter.

To-day I am privileged to move a vote of thanks to Your Excellency, and to the Secretary of State, for the prompt appointment of the Indian States Committee, which was one of the specific requests we placed before you in Simla last May.

Questions of vital moment to the States will be dealt with by the Indian States Committee. They are not without their complexities, inasmuch as the position of the Indian States within the Empire is acknowledged to be unique and without a parallel in history, and for the right understanding of certain problems connected with which neither International Law nor the Federal or Municipal Law of any country supplies any clear guide. But I feel sure that I am voicing the sentiments of this House—and indeed of the Indian States generally—when I repeat what I said in another speech a few days ago that it is a matter of congratulation and gratification, and as much in Imperial interests as in our own, that such important work is to be carried out by the Indian States Committee during the Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin—who is proving himself so successful in unlocking closed doors and opening up sealed hearts—and that His Excellency has at his side, as his Political Secretary and Chief Expert Adviser, a sympathetic Political Officer like Mr. Watson, of whom high hopes are entertained by us. Indian India no less rejoices at the appointment as Chairman of the Committee of our old and esteemed friend, Sir Harcourt Butler.

To me personally also, it is a source of particular gratification to see the Indian States Committee appointed. For, as early as 1915, at the desire of that great and popular Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, I wrote a Minute on various important matters concerning the Indian States, in the course of which I urged the necessity of convening at an early date a Conference—

“ for the consideration, in all their various aspects, and settlement, of such points ”

But Lord Hardinge unfortunately left India shortly afterwards.

In the interval the Princes' anxieties were reduced considerably by the hopes raised from the various reforms which were urged by us. But various causes and factors—which I need not touch upon to-day—intervened; and the actual experience of the working of the reforms relating to the Indian States, as outlined in Chapter X of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, clearly indicated to us that our expectations had not been fully realized and that something more was needed. I am one of those who hold the conviction that it is still possible to raise a noble edifice upon the foundations then laid, which can fully meet our various requirements, and prove of advantage to the States as well as to the Empire. Particularly do I hope that, different though it is in certain aspects from our conception and ideal, this Chamber of Princes—in itself a unique body without parallel, where the Sovereign Rulers of the Indian States under the benign protection of the King-Emperor, meet in friendly conclave with His Imperial Majesty's exalted Representative in India—will yet prove to be one of the most beneficial links in the chain that unite the Princes of India with the Crown, and play an important part in the future destinies of the Indian States. But in the circumstances briefly alluded to by me, it became my duty, as Chancellor of Your Highnesses' Chamber at that time, to explore further avenues with a view to securing adequate safety for the Indian States.

As Chancellor I had already officially put forward before Lord Reading in 1922 a proposal for an informal Round Table Conference—a request which it was ordained for Your Excellency to accede to fully five years later—and in August 1924—after important consultations with some prominent Indian States' Ministers, whom I had informally invited for the purpose—I placed, again as Chancellor, before the Viceroy a definite request for the appointment of an Indian States Committee.

I will not reiterate to-day all that I said only a few weeks ago in my speech in the Bikaner Legislative Assembly regarding the Indian States Committee, nor need I allude again to all the allied details dealt with by me

when I had the honour, in November 1926, of moving in the Chamber of Princes a resolution of welcome to His Excellency Lord Irwin. I will therefore only refer to a few points in connection with the first part of my Resolution. The need for overhauling, readjusting, and keeping up-to-date, the old machinery governing the Imperial relations with the States is obvious. Sir, I am an optimist; and—whatever the difficulties—I do not believe that they are insurmountable; and I have an invincible faith in the power of honest, open statesmanship—devoid of all diplomacy and secret reservations and manœuvres. No political ill is hopelessly incurable if only it is rightly diagnosed and skilfully, as well as sympathetically, treated. As remarked by Your Excellency when opening this session and recently at Jodhpur—

“if there be on both sides goodwill and a common desire to find for the various problems a solution, which will conduce to mutual prosperity and progress, we can face without anxiety whatever the future may have in store”.

Whatever the faults or shortcomings in the past—on either or both sides—one fact is really beyond doubt or dispute, *viz.*, that, except perhaps in a few matters of minor detail, the interests of the British Government and of the Indian States are identical and that the future destiny of both is indissolubly interwoven. It is irrefutable that trust begets trust; and what henceforward is necessary—and what Your Excellency has yourself appealed for—is mutual trust and confidence and reciprocal goodwill, and a mutual appreciation of each other's standpoints and difficulties.

When I had the pleasure of welcoming Sir Harcourt Butler and his eminent Colleagues to Bikaner the other day, I referred to my writing to Sir Harcourt and saying years ago that, finding ourselves, as we did, in the hands of such good doctors as the late Lord Minto and Sir Harcourt, one might almost have said that the wounds of the past had healed, and that unless there was to be in the near future a change in the treatment, the wounds were not likely to open again. To-day I am particularly anxious to avoid, as far as possible, any reference to controversial matters; still less do I wish to refer on this occasion to the causes which in recent years led to a change of treatment and which retarded our progress. But I feel that this distinguished assembly will whole-heartedly share with me the hope that history will again repeat itself, and that Sir Harcourt Butler will, with the willing co-operation of his Colleagues, and the sympathetic and strong support of His Excellency the Viceroy and the British Government, once again be instrumental in totally removing such malignant growths and thus help in bringing about a permanent and complete cure. I will, therefore, leave this subject after saying that the Chamber of Princes looks forward with hope and faith to the recommendations of the Indian States Committee, and to their being considered and discussed in this Chamber, before His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and the British Government take up the final solution of the various problems involved.

I wish that my task in moving the second part of my Resolution was as simple as in dealing with the first part. No one is more conscious than myself of the difficult and delicate points involved; and it is only under a strong sense of duty to our Order, and because in my judgment it will be highly injurious to the interests of the Princes and their States to delay, that I venture to place this Resolution before Your Highnesses for your earnest and favourable consideration. For reasons which will be obvious, I feel sure that this House will believe me when I say that I do most heartily wish that there was at the moment someone else in my place speaking and moving this Resolution!

As from more points than one it is of the utmost importance to the Princes and their States that there should be no misunderstanding, nor any apprehension, in any quarter—including in the minds of those absent to-day—as regards the exact meaning and scope of this Resolution, and the reasons which have prompted me to move it—and which I hope will influence Your Highnesses to accept it—I would beg for the indulgence of Your Excellency

and of Your Highnesses if I take up your time and recall certain details connected with this very matter which will make it clear that the subject matter of this Resolution does not come up before Your Highnesses to-day for the first time, and that there is really nothing new which I am springing on Your Highnesses to-day in the shape of a surprise. Indeed I should be sorry for the sake of our Order if I felt that this very important matter has not already been engaging the attention of those of Your Highnesses who look well ahead.

Speaking here as I am before some Princes riper in age and experience than myself, I would first beg Your Highnesses to absolve me from any intention of being dictatorial, or of being guilty of lecturing to any Brother Prince—much less to this distinguished Assemblage, or to our Order.

The second point that I wish to make clear is that nothing in my Resolution, or in what I say to-day, is meant to imply—or can really be held to imply—that the condition of affairs in all, or even the majority of, our States is the opposite of satisfactory.

Our States and Governments as well as our subjects, it is true, are in various stages of advancement; and local circumstances and conditions and the standard of administration must likewise vary—and late though our States were, compared with British India, in starting on modern lines of administration and education—we can look with satisfaction upon the fact that some of our States are very well administered and have attained a high level of advancement and development, which may well be the envy not only of other States, not so fortunate in possessing the same natural resources, but which would—I make bold to add—compare favourably with some parts even of British India; whilst many Rulers of our States have, to the best of their light, and according to the conditions prevailing in their States, been devoting the best years of their life, and much of their time, to the service of their States and in promoting the welfare of their subjects. In some of the advanced States the essentials of good Government are already clearly forthcoming. Such Rulers and States will have nothing more to do so far as the terms of this Resolution are concerned. It is possible that in some States—should they deem my Resolution, and the submissions which I make to-day, worthy of attention—the necessity may be appreciated of applying some or other of the important internal reforms, which for some reason or other it may not have been found possible hitherto to give full effect to; whilst in some other States again, if my Resolution is instrumental in bringing these important matters prominently to the forefront, and if it leads to their consideration in earnest, my labours will not have been in vain; and I venture to predict that not only the particular State, or States, but our entire Order will thereby be the gainers.

The third point which I wish to emphasize is that I had devoted particular care in wording this Resolution; and the same applies to framing this speech, so that nothing should be said which might justly be taken as compromising the internal independence and autonomy of our States or our rights and position. I need hardly assure Your Highnesses, as well as the other Princes not present here to-day, that I am not blind to certain obvious aspects of the question under discussion, and particularly to the danger of any misunderstandings arising from, or any wrong interpretation being placed on, this Resolution, or on anything that might be said in this hall to-day, either by me in the course of this speech, or by any of Your Highnesses in any debate that may follow. I would venture in all modesty to express the hope that the record of my ten years' special work undertaken on Your Highnesses' behalf—for the first five years as Honorary General Secretary to Your Highnesses for the annual Princes Conferences, and for the second five as the first Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes—will show that there is no one, within or without our Order, who attaches greater importance to safeguarding the rights and interests of the States as well as the *Izzat* and dignity of the Princes, or who has opposed more strenuously undue interference in our internal affairs. We naturally cherish,

and desire to preserve intact, and to render secure for all time, our internal autonomy and independence; and we resent—and, I venture to state, rightly resent—undue intervention or interference from any source outside our States in our internal and domestic affairs, or any encroachment on our Sovereign powers. It would be out of place on this occasion for me to refer at length to the delicate and vexed question of such interference, or to go into details of what can be said to amount to—what I have always understood to be the official phraseology—“flagrant injustice” or “gross” or “intolerable” “misrule”, in which extreme, and happily rare, cases interference has been claimed to be justifiable or unavoidable.

Nor have I lost sight of the fact that from time to time in the past, claims have been advanced from various responsible quarters on behalf of the Government of India as regards both the need and the justification for intervention—claims more wide, more frequent, and more insistent, and I would respectfully add—some of them at least based on grounds which it would appear difficult constitutionally to justify or substantiate.

But for the purpose of this Resolution I would first recall the important words used in regard to this subject by His Excellency—our present, popular Viceroy—in his inaugural Address in this Chamber in November 1926, when, after assuring us that he realised “to the full the sanctity and the binding nature of the treaties and sanads” and that he would do all in his power to observe them. His Excellency, in his reference to “another aspect of the relations” of the Princes with the British Government, on which he did not think that in practice we should find ourselves in disagreement, stated :—

“The general policy of Government remains, as it has been in the past, a policy of non-interference in affairs that are internal to the States. It is only in extreme cases that the Paramount Power will intervene, and I can assure Your Highnesses that any such action which it is ever thought necessary to take, will be taken only after the most deliberate and sympathetic consideration, and with the greatest reluctance. Its sole purpose will be the furtherance of the interest, present and future, of the Indian States, and of the general Order of the Princes themselves.”

His Excellency further was good enough to offer us his confidence, and observed that he knew he could count on ours; for indeed our mutual confidence is more than ever necessary at this juncture of Indian political development. With this assurance, and with this appeal of mutual confidence, in our minds, we can safely proceed on our task of discussing this Resolution; and, when explaining the wording of some of the clauses of my Resolution, I shall have something more to say, which I trust will further reassure Your Highnesses that we need not—on the score of this Resolution *alone*—be afraid of intervention, or dictation, from the British Government, or any of the local Political Officers, in regard to questions of Internal Reforms. On the contrary I would venture in all seriousness to say to Your Highnesses that by accepting, and acting on, this Resolution, we should be definitely minimising the risks of, and checking, intervention, from the British Government or from any other quarters, inside or outside our States.

There is one more subject which I feel it important to dwell upon in these introductory remarks. It may well be asked “What are the grounds for this Resolution, and where is the necessity of moving it in the Chamber of Princes—why not instead deal with such matters in the Princes’ informal meetings?” The answer which I give, with all respect and in all friendliness, is that such a Resolution is based on the very instinct of self-preservation and self-defence, and that it appears necessary that it

be discussed in this Chamber of Princes, for the future well-being and strength; and indeed I would in all earnest go so far as to say that it is imperatively necessary for the very existence of our States as well as for consolidating the position of the Rulers and their Dynasties. That it will also promote the well-being and contentment of our subjects, which so many of Your Highnesses really have at heart, and which is so essential for our own security, also goes without saying. But here I am specially emphasizing the grave risks which the Rulers of States themselves will run personally, and which they will furthermore leave as a bad legacy to their children and their children's children, in the near or distant future, if, where such reforms are necessary, no heed is paid to this matter of such vital importance to the entire Order.

As will be obvious, and as has repeatedly been pointed out by several Princes—including your humble servant—as well as some of our most able Ministers, at the Princes' informal meetings, and in the reports and recommendations of various Ministers' Committees, there are two ways of consolidating, strengthening and safeguarding the future position of our States, including our own position and that of our Heirs and Successors. Both ways are equally important, if not interdependent. One is to ask—and we have a right to ask—the Imperial Government to continue to respect and maintain, and to take such steps as will effectively render secure, for all time, our Treaty and other rights, and our internal Sovereignty and may be found mutually satisfactory and effective for the purpose, and, where need be, by revising their policy and improving the political machinery governing our own relations with the Crown. For this we have made every effort through the Chamber of Princes and our Standing Committee; and let us hope that under the blessings of Providence, and with the sympathy and support of His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the British Government and the Indian States Committee, our apprehensions may be finally laid at rest and our aims fully achieved.

But, Your Highnesses, as I remarked in my recent speech in the Bikaner Legislative Assembly, nothing that each one, or all, of them may do can completely and effectively, and *by itself*, secure the future of the Indian States. For, as I remarked in my speech on the 16th August 1926, when inaugurating the Conference of Ministers held in Bikaner to discuss the future position of the Indian States:—

“no one who thinks seriously and earnestly, can shut his eyes to the fact that our future really depends largely, if not almost exclusively, upon the Rulers of States themselves, upon the extent we, the Princes, realise our great responsibilities and the sacred duty God Almighty has committed to our care, upon the manner in which we direct the affairs of our States, upon the amount of care and thought which we bring to bear upon questions of vital importance to the well-being of our States and our subjects. Very difficult times unmistakably lie ahead of us..... There is no use blinking at the fact that the trend of certain schools of political thought” (in British India) “is not in our favour..... Times are changing, and the Princes and States too have to adapt themselves to modern environments. Some of our States have every reason to be proud of their splendid achievements and of the high goal towards which they are so assiduously working. In some States on the other hand the need for reform will no doubt be apparent. It behoves us all—the Princes and their Ministers—to see to it that nothing which duty and prudence dictate is left unattended to. No doubt the future destiny of the Princes and States of India will be determined by the will of God; but if we discharge our duties properly and are not unmindful of our responsibilities, He in His infinite mercy will assuredly extend to us His protecting hand and guidance.”

It will thus be obvious that certain important measures for the purpose of securing, and consolidating, the position of the Indian States can only be undertaken by the Rulers and Governments of the States themselves; and Your Highnesses do not need to be told by me that in such cases where even the essentials of good Government are not manifest, no other course of action will stem the tide of public opinion in such States, which in such circumstances must ultimately sweep everything before it. Nor do Your Highnesses need to be reminded by me that the strength and the safety of a Ruler and his State do not for all time lie in the bayonets of the British Government or of his own Army, but can only be permanently secured and maintained if his rule is broad-based on the loyalty and affection and the contentment and co-operation of his own people. Hence the imperative and urgent necessity, where required, of putting our houses in order. Many instances are forthcoming of the disastrous results—disastrous not only to the Sovereign personally, but in my humble opinion disastrous in many ways to the State as well as to society—to the mightiest Sovereigns of some of the greatest Powers and Empires on the face of this Earth, who failed to detect the sign of the times and rushed headlong to their doom, or the doom of their descendents, through unwise autocracy. I need only mention Louis XIV—at one time the mighty Emperor of the great French Empire and his Successors.

Let me not be misunderstood. As I have already said there is much in many of our States which we can be proud of, and which some of the less advanced States can well emulate; and although, in view of the fierce light that beats upon a throne, the occasional and sad lapses of a Ruler gain undue prominence and widespread notoriety, a greater truth was never stated than by that conscientious Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, in his remarks during a discussion in the Princes Conference on the 20th January 1919, when he said that he did not believe that there was much misrule in the Indian States.

Human nature being what it is and with different conditions prevailing in different States, it is impossible to expect all the Rulers of our States to be of one uniform quality; and occasional lapses are, alas! inevitable. But such painful revelations, Your Highnesses will agree, do no good to the Order as a whole or to the States as a body. Similarly the crippling beyond measure of the State finances, and the attendant neglect to find sufficient funds to ensure good Government for the State and for the purpose of advancing the happiness, prosperity and contentment of its subjects, has an adverse effect on us all in matters fiscal and financial as well as political. And in this connection I am tempted once more to quote from His Excellency's recent speech at Rajkot—

“ . . . the more your administrations approximate to the standards of efficiency demanded by enlightened public opinion elsewhere, the easier it will be to find a just and permanent solution.”

of the difficulties and disabilities from which the States have been suffering.

It is in view of all such, and other, considerations of the highest import to us and to posterity that, after the most anxious and deliberate consideration, and on the unanimous suggestion and advice of all my Brother Princes on the Standing Committee present in Simla last May, and of some of our ablest Ministers and other well-wishers whom I consulted, I have consented to move this Resolution to-day which, if the States are fortunate enough to receive Your Highnesses' general support and consent in passing, will carry with it greater formality and great weight, not to be expected at our Informal Meetings. For, the attendance there of all the Princes present in this Chamber cannot always be counted upon. The Resolutions of the Chamber have, of course, no binding force on any State, but they none-the-less carry great moral weight, and will, it is hoped, lead to their receiving a greater measure of serious attention and prompter consideration, than any resolutions informally passed at our Informal Meetings. Also, from the

short narrative of events which followed it will be noticed that although this all important subject has from time to time, and for several years past, been considered by us at our Informal Meetings, it has not received the widespread, earnest attention, nor have the results achieved hitherto been as effective or as satisfactory, as the importance and urgency of this very far-reaching question demand.

At our Informal Meetings in February 1921, a small Committee of Princes and Ministers was for the first time appointed during my first year of office as Chancellor, to go into such questions affecting the future position of the Indian States and to consider what was necessary for the Governments of the Princes to do internally for strengthening the position of their States. Unfortunately we were meeting then at a time of great rush, which coincided with the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught for the purpose of inaugurating this Chamber.

Without going into the details of each and every subsequent occasion when we discussed such measures, I will specially remind Your Highnesses of one very important discussion in our Informal Meetings, held in Delhi on the 7th November 1921, when His Highness the late Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior appealed to the Princes to leave no stone unturned in setting their houses in order. He particularly referred to the changed spirit of the times, and to the attempts made by a certain class of people in British India to excite feelings of disaffection in the minds of the subjects of our States. His late Highness expressed his conviction that unless the Rulers retained a hold upon the affection of their people, attended to their legitimate grievances and took a personal interest in the efficiency of their administration, there was a great danger threatening the existence of their entire Order; and he observed that the problems of the future would get more and more complex and difficult, and that unless wisdom and care were brought to bear upon their solution, their successors would find their position rendered extremely insecure.

His late Highness of Gwalior again returned to the same subject in a subsequent informal discussion in November 1924. In supporting his remarks I ventured to urge that we must seize time by the forelock, and that we must act—while there was yet time—and put our house in order, and thereby ensure the preservation of our States and Dynasties.

The Ministers' Report drafted at Bikaner in August 1926, and presented in Patiala in February 1927, also laid particular emphasis on the need of essential Internal Reforms; and I have already alluded to my inaugural remarks when opening the Ministers' Conference in Bikaner in August 1926.

His Highness, our present Chancellor, in addressing a circular letter to the Princes last year in regard to the Committee Meetings in Bikaner and Patiala also invited Your Highnesses' attention to this important matter. But unfortunately as the question could not be adequately dealt with in the course of such a brief circular letter, some serious misunderstandings arose. I earnestly hope all such suspicions and doubts will be finally laid at rest by to-day's discussions as also by some further observations which I shall shortly be making when explaining the wording of the various clauses of this Resolution.

I will conclude my general observations by quoting the following 5, out of many, relevant and significant extracts from a third party—a responsible, leading Indian Newspaper, which in its editorial on my Legislative Assembly speech said:—

- (1) "If the Ruling Princes were . . . anxious to promote the welfare of their subjects, to establish the rule of law, . . . there will be no section of Indians which would express feelings of

hostility towards the Order, or advocate its abolition, or regard it as an obstacle in the way of India's attaining the goal of democratic freedom."

- (2) "There is no doubt that the present fiscal arrangements are grossly unfair to the subjects of Indian States."
- (3) "The demands of the Indian Princes are in essence similar to those of people in British India, namely, the freedom to manage their own affairs without outside interference. They would meet with considerable support from Indian Publicists if the Indian Princes follow the general principles in the discharge of their responsibilities enumerated by His Highness. . ."
- (4) "If these Internal Reforms are introduced and carried out in the right spirit, the Rulers of States will have the united support of their subjects and people in British India in any effort they may make for preserving intact their treaty rights."
- (5) "Rulers who wish to increase their power and fortify their position should know where the real strength lies" (in, *viz.*, the loyalty and affection of their people).

I will now deal with and explain clauses (3), (4), and (5) of the Resolution. Speaking generally first I have attempted to avoid the use of such ambiguous terms as are likely hereafter to lead to difficulties as to their exact meaning and scope. For instance, "efficiency" of administration, or of anything else, is an extremely wide term, and we cannot have outside judges, or umpires, reviewing and adjudging what does or does not constitute "efficiency".

Secondly, whilst on the subject of efficiency, I would invite special attention to the famous declaration of policy, which a widely respected and popular Viceroy, Lord Minto, made at Udaipur on the 3rd November 1909, when he had Sir Harcourt Butler as his chief Political Adviser. Lord Minto on that memorable occasion said:—

"I have always been opposed to anything like pressure on Darbars with a view to introducing British methods of administration—I have preferred that reforms should emanate from the Darbars themselves, and grow up in harmony with the traditions of the State. It is easy to overestimate the value of administrative efficiency—it is not the only object to aim at, though the encouragement of it must be attractive to keen and able Political Officers, and it is not unnatural that the temptation to further it should for example appeal strongly to those who are temporarily in charge of the administration of a State during a minority."

The third point in my general observations regarding clauses (3), (4) and (5) to which I wish to invite the attention of all concerned is that whilst the Princes of India are not unmindful of the altered circumstances prevailing in the world to-day, and will, it is earnestly to be hoped, be found to be keenly alive to their duties and responsibilities, they are not in any way conceding by to-day's Resolution, or debate, that they would willingly accept the views, or *obiter dicta*, of any outside party as to what is, or is not, sufficient or adequate, or what should, or should not, be done in their States in matters which come purely within the purview of their internal autonomy. Nor do they accept that a uniform standard of administration, to suit the diverse conditions prevailing among the various States in varying stages of progress, is possible of attainment, and that therefore every State and its Ruler must be the best judges as I remarked in my recent Legislative Assembly speech—

"of conducting its internal affairs in ways best suited to local circumstances, peculiarities, traditions, and sentiments, and to the different ideals and standards of administrative efficiency and education prevailing."

The degree of political consciousness awakened in the various States varies immensely in direct proportion to their education and contact with political ideals of the West. No wise man would accordingly dispute the claim of the Government of each State to be the best judge of the measure, and the manner and the pace, of such internal administrative reforms, as may be most suited to promote the progress and the prosperity of their States and subjects. It has been said that an Englishman's house is his own castle. This applies with all the greater force to the Rulers of the Indian States; and therefore it is essential that they must remain paramount masters in their own homes; and all such reforms, when and where found to be necessary—and as occasion demands—must for lasting success depend upon their spontaneously emanating from within and on the initiative of the Ruler and the Government of the State concerned.

It is important that here I should also make it clear that what I am to-day urging on the earnest attention of my Brother Princes, and what was proposed to be laid down by me in this Resolution, is in no way contrary to the terms of the memorable declaration, by our valued friend, the late Right Honourable Edwin Montagu, of the 20th August, 1927, when, as Secretary of State for India, he stated in the House of Commons that as the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people lay on the British Government and the Government of India—

“the British Government and the Government of India..... must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be confirmed and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.”

The British Government cannot therefore reasonably expect the States to go further than the declaration made by the British Government—so far as it applied to them—in regard to the advance of constitutional reforms in British India. Although the Resolution, as I had originally drafted it, has been altered by me solely out of deference to the recently expressed wishes of some of Your Highnesses whom I had informally consulted in the matter, it is necessary—not only in fairness to myself, but also to the interests of the Princes and States of India in general that I should make it clear that—although I do not regard the revised wording of this Resolution as equally satisfactory for the safety of our States and the best interests of our Order—these observations equally apply to the revised Resolution as placed before the Chamber of Princes to-day.

Paragraph (3) of the Resolution makes it clear that a Ruler and his Government alone must be the best authorities to judge of what methods are best suited to promote the prosperity of their States and subjects. At the same time, I would venture—speaking as I am to my Brother Princes—respectfully to point out in a frank manner that the consequences to a Ruler, who is unmindful of, or indifferent to, marching with the times, and who does not make the best use of the opportunities open to him, are likely to be most disastrous to himself, his Dynasty, and his Government, in the near or distant future. But this is a subject on which, in view of what I have already said to-day, it is unnecessary for me to dwell upon further.

Turning now to clause (4) of this Resolution, it is impossible also to ignore the wisdom of the political philosophy which teaches that any reform, in order to be real and enduring, must both be spontaneous and emanate from within; and it needs no labouring on my part to demonstrate what an impossible position would otherwise be created for a Ruler and his Government—as well as, I venture to state, the British Government—if it were to be otherwise. Reforms, like constitution, must grow from within; it is impossible to expect them to last otherwise. Genuine administrative reform can thrive and prove of any real value only on the initiative of the

Ruler and the Government themselves, and if the motive force behind it is spontaneous, and not forced from outside quarters. At the same time, and subject to these necessary safeguards, I would venture to urge most earnestly that the aim and endeavour of each one of us ought to be to bring our individual administrations up to the generally accepted progressive ideals of beneficent government.

I trust that I have said enough to show that the Rulers of States in generally endorsing this Resolution are not binding themselves to any 'catastrophic changes' and that they are in no undue danger of having their policy dictated from outside, or of subjecting themselves to the risk of undue interference from the Government of India or its Officers, or anyone else outside their States.

In order further that all suspicions and doubts may be dispelled so far as this Resolution is concerned, I would add that only a visionary or an idealist can hold the belief that the results accruing from the general acceptance of this Resolution to-day by Your Highnesses in the Chamber of Princes will forthwith lead to everything being put right and in absolutely perfect order, or to every reform being established at one full sweep or a wave of the magic wand. The chief object of this Resolution is to get the Princes' attention concentrated on the *essence*, as well as the subject matter, of this Resolution and to bring prominently to the front, and to get the idea steadily to permeate into the minds of those of our Order who have—from whatever causes, avoidable or unavoidable—lagged behind, and by honest precept, persuasion and friendly advice to try to get them for the common good, and of their own free will and accord, to put their houses in order, where such necessity exists.

Taking now sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) of clause 5 of this Resolution, I would ask Your Highnesses to peruse carefully their wording, which I venture to assert is such as to encourage even a small State, or one however backward, to accept without any misgiving or misapprehension. The word "a definite code of law" need not frighten even the most conservative amongst us; for, whether there are laws and codes, either original or enacted afresh and based on the laws of British India or any other States, it is obvious that, if there is even a semblance of the administration of justice and of codes and laws in a State, they must be based on some principles of justice; and I should indeed feel alarmed as regards the future of our States if there was anyone amongst us so autocratic, or so bold, as to assert that such codes and laws must be ignored and the term "justice" so degraded as to disregard the legitimate liberty of person and the safety of property, or that they must be administered by a judiciary which is not independent of the executive in the dispensation of strict and impartial justice, but that it should be subordinate to the orders of the Executive Government or the will and caprice of the Ruler as regards conviction of people irrespective of their being innocent or guilty, or in awarding decrees in civil suits, irrespective of the ordinary canons of law, equity and commonsense. And it also follows that the judiciary must also feel secure in their tenure of office—so long as they discharge their duties and responsibilities properly. What is necessary is that our judiciary must be charged with the administration of justice to the rich and the poor alike—without fear or favour, and equally to all our subjects; and that there should be a proper and adequate judicial branch of the Administration in our States providing for adequate modes of redress as well as for appeal.

In essence, what I am urging to-day, and which I feel Your Highnesses will agree with me, is that there should be the 'reign of law' prevailing in our States and not the 'reign of desire'.

As regards paragraph 5 (b), what is proposed is that there should be a settlement upon a reasonable, and, I would venture to point out, a definite, basis of the purely personal expenditure of the Ruler, as distinguished from

the public charges of administration. I wish to make it clear that I do not talk of any fixed amount or of any percentage, or of any other allied details. All these must necessarily and rightly vary according to the conditions prevailing in each State and particularly according to the revenues of the State concerned. The main point as regards the Civil List and Privy Purse of a Ruler is that it should be settled on a reasonable and definite basis, to enable the Ruler to maintain his position and dignity and that as large a proportion as possible may be available for the development of the life of a community and of its individual citizens.

It is difficult, here also, for me to conceive that anyone of us would be disposed seriously to contend the equity or the need for the Ruler of a State to have a fixed and well defined Privy Purse and Civil List, and a clear dividing line between his personal expenditure and that of the State. The reasons for the same are so obvious that they hardly require any further remarks. The ancient Hindu Kings were similarly enjoined by our own Shastras and our own Nitis only to take a fixed sum or a definite percentage of the total income of the State; and the Civil List of an enlightened Ruler of modern times—even, I gather, in Western Countries, is consequently fixed at either a definite sum or at a definite percentage of the total ordinary income of the State.

It will be generally conceded that it is not always easy to differentiate between the purely personal expenditure of a Ruler and that incurred for ceremonial purposes or for the Ruler in his official position as the Head of the State; and it is obviously quite impossible to lay down any hard and fast rules on the subject. The various circumstances prevailing in each State—with which the Ruler and his Government are best and closest acquainted—must supply the test in the consideration and settlement of such questions by the Ruler and his Government; and so long as a sincere effort is made to draw that definite line of demarcation—where it does not exist—between the purely personal expenditure of a Ruler and the public charges of administration, all other points pale, comparatively speaking, into insignificance. It must also follow, where the percentage of the State revenue is the guiding principle, that there can be no uniform standard applicable to the various States. For it is indisputable that whereas a certain smaller percentage would be a reasonable and definite basis for a big State with larger revenue, it follows obviously that with a State—say of a revenue of 1 lakh of rupees—a fixed percentage, say 10 per cent. would by no means suffice even for the reasonable personal expenses of the Ruler—much less if he is to keep up his position and dignity. It therefore follows that such percentage in the smaller States with smaller revenues must necessarily vary and be larger.

I would like to emphasize that Your Highnesses are not being asked by the Chamber or me, or anyone else to give any opinion whatever to-day on the various details of such settlements of Civil Lists and Privy Purses or what the percentage should be. This is a matter entirely for consideration and settlement in accordance with the conditions and circumstances and other factors prevailing in each State. Here again it is impossible to conceive however that any Ruler can seriously contend that he is justified in spending the greater proportion of the revenues of his State on his personal expenditure and on his pleasures and enjoyment—to the detriment of the interests of his State, his Government and his subjects. And as some Princes asked some questions on another point, let me also add that this Resolution here refers solely to the revenues of the State, and does not of course in any way refer to the purely personal income of a Ruler derived from private sources. Any Ruler who derives a private income from sources independent of the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the State, such for instance as inheritance, bequests, or private estates outside the State, or savings from his own Privy Purse, etc., need not trouble to take such details into consideration for the purpose of this Resolution.

I believe that, except for isolated cases, there is, in accordance with either our ancient, or modern, ideals, a real differentiation made in our States between the Rulers' personal expenditure and State expenditure; and Your Highnesses, in accepting clause 5(b) of this Resolution, would not be departing in any way from the ancient ideals of the *Dharma* of a Prince or the modern ideals of the duty of a Ruler, in regard to this important detail—upon which so much will depend, as far as the future of our States and our own Dynasties is concerned. For it is on this score, and because of the thoughtless acts of a few amongst us, that our entire Order is most frequently assailed.

I feel sure that Your Highnesses will agree that it is far, far better for all of us to take time by the forelock and to bring about such essential reforms in the interests of good government, as and where they are needed, on our own initiative and of our own free will, rather than have to do so under the force of public opinion, or other circumstances.

I would venture to add that in States where there is no Reign of Law, no independent judiciary fearlessly administering impartial justice, and where there is no clear cut line and proper distinction between the personal expenditure of a Ruler and the charges of administration, we also suffer in various fiscal and financial arrangements. For instance, I believe that our claim to a share in the customs revenues derived by the Government of India from British Seaports would be on a still stronger footing if we were able to demonstrate to all concerned that the proportionate amount to which our State is entitled from customs duties levied in British India would not be frittered away on the personal pleasures and expenses of a Ruler, but that it would benefit the tax-payer of our Indian States just as the revenue derived in British India in the shape of customs is undoubtedly devoted by the Government of India for the benefit of the British Indian tax-payer.

In commending this Resolution, and particularly paragraph (5), I feel that it is necessary to invite Your Highnesses' particular attention to the fact that you are not signing a blank cheque, or committing yourselves *carte blanche*, to any undue encroachment upon your legitimate rights or prejudice to your interests. After all when we come to view it from the Eastern standpoint or that of the West, there can be very little that in essence is different in the Eastern standard of Kingship and beneficent Government from the modern ideals of good Government; and before concluding my speech I would, in support of my statement, refer to some of the well recognised and generally accepted principles and functions of good government, and of Regal obligations and duties of Rulers to their subjects, over which there can be little, if any, dispute—whatever the standard and conditions prevailing in any State, whatever its revenues and resources, and wherever its geographical situation. Several of Your Highnesses are not totally unacquainted with an important Note, written entirely in our interests, and purely informal as an expression of his personal views, by an honoured and esteemed friend and sagacious statesman. I quote some extracts from it here not because of any desire to flatter but because I venture to think that when Your Highnesses come carefully, and even critically, to examine the principles enunciated therein, with which no reasonable person, with a wise apprehension and looking far ahead to the days to come, and with due regard to the best interests of his State, himself and his Dynasty, will really be in disagreement.

As said in this Note :—

- “I. The functions of Government may be described as the task, firstly, of ensuring to the individuals composing the society governed the opportunity of developing themselves as human beings, and,
- secondly, of welding them into a compact and contented State.

* * * * *

II Stated differently, the ordered life of a community depends upon being regulated, not by the arbitrary will of individuals, but by LAW... ..

* * * * *

X Every Government should have some machinery by which it can inform itself of the needs and desires of its subjects, and by which these can make their voice heard.

This machinery need not be strictly representative (or elective) in character, but its essential requisite is that it should maintain a close connection between Government and Governed.

* * * * *

XII. Perhaps the principal necessity for a personal Ruler is that he should be able to choose wise counsellors, and having chosen them that he should trust them, and encourage them to tell him the truth, whether or not this is always palatable."

* * * * *

When referring in my Legislative Assembly speech to the widely accepted principles and functions of good Government—be it noted so far as my State and my Government were concerned and as an expression of my own opinion—I adumbrated the following 7 points:—

- I. The necessity for the Ruler of a State to have a fixed and well defined Privy Purse and a clear dividing line between his personal expenditure and that of the State.
- II. Security of life and property by the employment of as efficient and uncorrupt a Police as possible for the maintenance of Law and Order.
- III. Independent Judiciary.
- IV The Reign of Law, including certainty of Law, its uniformity and approximation, where possible, with the laws of British India, with such additions and alterations as local conditions may render necessary.
- V. Stability of Public Services.
- VI. Efficiency and continuity of administration.
- VII. Beneficent rule in the interests of the general well-being and contentment of the subjects.

Of the above points, II, III and IV are covered by paragraph (5) (a) of this Resolution; whilst point I is covered by paragraph (5) (b). Point II referring to security of life and property is partly covered by paragraph (5) (a), whilst the necessity of as efficient and uncorrupt a Police as possible for the maintenance of Law and Order requires no adumbration—difficult though the ideal is, as compared with what one may expect in this difficult world of ours. Continuity of administration and its efficiency similarly needs no illustration—subject to the remarks I have already made above in regard to 'efficiency'—and similarly nothing in particular is necessary to be stated here for purposes of this Resolution in regard to point VII—Beneficent rule in the interests of the general well-being and contentment of the subjects—specially when we look at such principles from what has been stated above.

To secure good Government, we must obviously have competent machinery which is an essential of success; or, in other words, Public Services, to which capable honest Officers would be attracted under a sense of security of tenure in accordance with the Civil Service Regulations of the State concerned and the contract of their service—so long as they discharge their duties with loyalty, honesty and efficiency.

It is unnecessary to add that these principles do not differ from the Hindu ideal of Kingship so aptly put before us by our own Shastras. Whatever difference of opinion there may be as regards the method of giving effect to them, I do not believe that there is really much, if any, difference between any one of us here as regards the general principles of good Government or the essential need of the States on their own initiative and in their own interests to put their houses in order.

As His Excellency remarked in his recent speech at Jodhpur, the solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of our subjects—

“ should be alike the pride and reward of every Ruler who has the interests of his State at heart. With the rapid spread of education the problems which the Princes of India have to solve are daily becoming more complex, criticism of their administration more and more insistent and the highest standard of Government more generally demanded by public opinion. It is wise to recognise and not to ignore the forces which are at work and to realise that a Prince who neglects to discharge with humanity and justice the sacred trust, which he has inherited, is not only sacrificing the interests of his subjects and his State, but is weakening the position of the Order to which he has the honour to belong”

“ Let us demonstrate to the World by the manner in which we deal with this Resolution—both here and hereafter—that Indian Kingship and our ancient oriental culture provide for just as good government as any system of modern rule or of Western democracy.

In conclusion, I must apologize for having taken so much of Your Excellency's and Your Highnesses' time in moving this Resolution. But I feel confident that it will be appreciated that the grave importance of the matter will be taken in extenuation. I would venture earnestly and solemnly to repeat that, just as the ultimate decision to be arrived at by the Imperial Government on issues now before the Indian States Committee is a matter of life and death for our States, so in my humble judgment it is equally a matter of life and death for our States, and for us ourselves and our Dynasties, what action we take, not only during to-day's debate, but also the action which each Ruler and State, if, and where, he finds the necessity for such action, will take upon our decision to-day—if, as I hope, my Resolution is accepted by Your Highnesses. We can but hope and pray that a just and equitable solution will be found by the Indian States Committee and be supported by the Imperial Government, which would reassure the minds of the Princes, and that through the wise action taken by ourselves to-day and hereafter in regard to the aims and objects which this Resolution has, I trust, prominently placed before Your Highnesses, the strength and prestige will be advanced not only of the Princes and States, not only of the Great Indian Empire, but also of the greater British Empire, and that we—the Princes and our States and subjects—will thereby be enabled to take our proper and rightful place as “perpetual Friends and Allies” and enabled without encroachment, without menace, and without anxiety or vexation, to work out our destinies under the ægis of our beloved King-Emperor, to whom we are bound by ties of the most steadfast loyalty and deepest devotion.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I desire to associate myself most heartily with the Resolution which has been moved by His Highness of Bikaner. There can be no doubt of its timeliness. I desire to speak quite plainly and frankly, for the importance of the question requires it. Is it not quite obvious that the position which the Princes will occupy in the future depends primarily upon the strength of their administration? And does not this strength in its turn derive its origin from the day to day working of their Government? At a time when the question of constitutional reforms for British India is exciting so much

attention, I think we must be particularly careful, as I am glad to notice the mover of the resolution has been, not to fall into any confusion of thought. In the States our institutions are framed upon certain traditional lines; the position of the Ruler is fixed in accordance with the dictates of religion and morality. I for one believe that the position of Kingship as understood in India is every bit as constitutional as that of the monarchies in the West, for which reason, I want to tell Your Highnesses that in lending our support to His Highness of Bikaner's Resolution, we are, I am sure, in no way committing ourselves upon the vexed question as to whether democracy is or is not a good thing, either for India in general or for our States in particular. Having thus cleared the ground, I want to say again with the utmost frankness, that I believe it is necessary, even for the mere preservation of those rights, which we cherish so much, that those of us who have not already done so, should turn our attention to domestic reform. Such characteristics of good administration as are described in the Note Your Excellency so kindly gave us, are definitely required of us all by the Indian ideal of kingship: and we fail in our duty, religious and social, unless we make proper provision for them. His Highness of Bikaner has selected certain of these characteristics for particular attention. I am not for one instant asserting that the plain and simple requirements which His Highness the mover has specified do not already operate in the great majority of the States. Indeed, I think that they do. But it is an unfortunate fact that human nature tends to judge an Institution or an Order, with reference to the weakest, rather than the strongest aspects, which it presents. Whence arises the fact that a great deal of unfounded criticism is levelled against the Indian States in general because certain States do not fully realise that the world moves, and that modern requirements, in the way of good government, have now become somewhat exacting. Now, to impose reforms from without, as His Highness the mover has rightly remarked on a previous occasion, is unsatisfactory. The only solution, therefore, lies in strengthening the desire of the Princes themselves to attain better standards of good government until this desire attains the dimensions of a fixed determination. I feel that this resolution is useful, because it will direct the attention of certain of Their Highnesses to the need of reform in certain particulars. As His Highness of Bikaner has pointed out, there is no idea of dictating, or of imposing reforms upon reluctant Rulers, but if we, as an Order, as manifested by a Resolution in this Chamber, associate ourselves whole-heartedly with a project like this, I am sure that we shall have done much to meet the requirements of the present situation. As to the intrinsic advantages of the Reforms here proposed, I need say nothing, because they are self evident. If we are to realise our responsibilities as Rulers; if we are to fulfil those traditions of Kingship in which we are brought up, it is necessary and not merely desirable that we should, of our own free will and volition, make the kind of arrangements for the benefit of our subjects, which have been indicated by the mover. For this reason, I accord my heartiest support to the resolution put forward by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, and I earnestly ask Your Highnesses to vote for it unanimously.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir · Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I beg to support the resolution so ably moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. In many ways this resolution is the most significant of all the resolutions hitherto moved in this Chamber and I am confident that if carried into effect it will prove of great advantage to our Order.

I cordially endorse what His Highness of Bikaner has already said with regard to the Indian States Committee. We are very grateful for the opportunity that has been afforded to us of giving expression to our ideas and suggesting practical ways of dealing with our problems. It is for the first time that the affairs of the Princes and States are being subjected to such a careful examination by an able and impartial body and it is only right that we collectively express our deep gratitude for this action.

The question of the future position of the States has evidently two aspects: internal and external. The external aspect of the question will, I presume, be dealt with—I hope in all its bearings—by the Indian States Committee. I can only join His Highness of Bikaner in the hope that the outcome of the deliberations and recommendations of the Committee will tend further to strengthen the ties which bind the Princes of India to the Imperial Crown and the British Empire, and will inaugurate a definite and enduring policy of sympathy and trust in all matters affecting the Indian States.

I now address myself to what I may call the internal aspect of the question to which I referred above. It is in dealing with this question—which is of great delicacy—that great caution seems necessary. It is a truism to say that no general and fixed standard can be applied to all the States. What may be suitable for one State may be unsuitable for another. But I trust we are all agreed on one point, namely, that the strength and stability of our own position depends more on the support that we receive from within the State and the subjects that we govern, than on any external institutions that may be devised to safeguard that position. We have inherited from our forefathers the duty and responsibility of securing ourselves the welfare and progress of our people. We live with them, we share with them their joys and sorrows, we are the protectors of their rights and interests. They look upon us with more than paternal respect and affection and we treat them with the same solicitude as a parent treats his children. We have affinities of race, language and culture with our people and every consideration points to the necessity of governing wisely and well.

If I may say so, the Resolution before the House is modest as well as suggestive. His Highness has, to put it very briefly, suggested that there should be the Rule of Law in our States, a judiciary independent of the executive, and a fixed and well-defined Privy Purse. His Highness has explained the reasons so fully that it is not necessary for me to go into them again. Western experience of democracy and democratic institutions has not been in all respects very promising and there is no suggestion that we should reproduce in our States slavish imitations of such institutions, in spite of different traditions and local conditions. Notwithstanding all this, even benevolent despotism itself does not hold out hopes of stability and continuity. We have therefore to devise some means by which the beneficent character of our administrations may be assured; or in other words, we must secure the good points of democracy and graft them on to autocracy. If such an experiment proves successful—and there is no reason to think otherwise—we shall have promoted the real ends of government, *viz.*, the advancement of the happiness and well-being of our subjects without importing undesirable features of modern democratic institutions, which are daily becoming more and more evident.

The fixation of a Civil List for the personal expenditure of the Ruler is just as important as the promulgation of a code of laws and the appointment of an independent judiciary to administer it. There are also other points relating to the ends of government which are equally important and I would in this connection respectfully invite Your Highnesses' careful attention to the note which His Excellency has written on the subject.

With these words I beg to commend the Resolution for Your Highnesses' favourable consideration.

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I am diffident in addressing the Chamber when there are Rulers present whose experience is so much longer and wider than mine, more specially when the subject of the resolution which has been so eloquently moved and so exhaustively dealt with by His Highness of Bikaner, is one as to which the longer the experience, the deeper must be the conviction as to its importance, and I would venture to add, its urgency.

I heartily associate myself with the expression of gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for

India for realising the justice and importance of a thorough investigation of the true position and the just rights of the States, and for appointing the Butler Committee to hold such investigation. And I naturally, and indeed most ardently, share the hope that the impending inquiry will lead to the recognition of facts that may have escaped notice heretofore. Such recognition must necessarily result in an adjustment based upon rights which were never surrendered by any solemn pacts, and, therefore, in the adoption of a policy calculated to strengthen the ties which bind the Princes of India to the person and throne of His Imperial Majesty.

Now, Your Highnesses, I come to that portion of the resolution I am seconding which bears upon the happiness and contentment, and the advancement and prosperity, of our subjects. I would say that it constitutes the affirmation of a duty which I trust no one of us has desired to evade in the past, or is to-day disposed to resist. By this resolution, in its broad aspect, we are only reminding ourselves of the trust we have inherited, and of the expectations which are justly entertained of us by our subjects. At the same time the resolution suggests that in the altered conditions of the present day our traditional conception of duty requires application in a particular manner,—a manner more suited to those conditions which have resulted from the march of civilisation, and the general progress, social, moral, and material, which has come in its wake all the wide world over.

We have listened with genuine gratitude to the weighty utterance of His Excellency the President at the opening of the session, and we have been deeply moved by the ring of sincerity in every word that he addressed to us on that occasion. He impressed on us the necessity of marching with the times in administering our States, and it was evident to everybody who heard him that the exhortation came direct from the heart of a true friend of our Order. These are momentous times, and from the criticism directed at us from the public platform and the press, “however ill-judged their conclusions, and however unjust their criticism”, nobody can ignore the fact, Your Highnesses, that ugly clouds are gathering on the horizon, and the storm may burst on us at any moment. There may be a cloudburst and a flood, and unless we protect our States by the construction of solid and durable embankments of internal contentment, peace, goodwill, and prosperity, we stand in danger of being wiped out of existence altogether.

If Your Highnesses will allow me to briefly examine the various portions of the Resolution, it will be made clear that we are not committing ourselves to any innovation, or introducing anything that does not already exist, and has not always existed. The reference to a judiciary above all influence other than that of the laws which we have ourselves enacted, is the expression, in a slightly varied form, of our ancient ideals of kingship. The Badshah was always enjoined to be adil (اَدِل), and the Raja, as the protector of his people (प्रजापालक) to be the dispenser of Justice (न्यायक). There is nothing new in the recommendation of the resolution as regards an independent judiciary; only the functions of the village Panchayat and the Kazi are to be performed by the Courts that we have constituted to apply and administer the laws that we have enforced to meet the ends of justice. I am sure we are not asking for any departure from the principles of administration laid down by our ancestors, and always studiously followed by them, when we say that the constitution of the States, where it has not already been done, must be so framed that the judges may be completely free and unfettered in the exercise of their judicial powers, may not be amenable to the influence of executive authority, and may have no fear of losing their jobs so long as they discharge their duties in a proper way. The laws that they administer must also be made with due regard to the principles of justice and equity, and the general desire and will of the people. They may be amended or altered only if a real necessity arises, and they are found defective in practical application.

As regards separate allotments out of our Revenue for Public purposes, --that is, for the good of the body politic,—and for our private expenditure, the resolution, it seems to me, merely emphasises the fact that we admit the necessity of such a differentiation in actual practice. I do not believe that any one of us would be disposed to assert that the provision of means for the well-being of our subjects and for their material and moral progress is a secondary question, while the ensurance of our personal comforts is our primary concern. We are saying that the safety and prosperity of our subjects is our first consideration, because we realise, as we are bound to do, that we owe our position as rulers to these very subjects. Therefore we are laying down, what is only just, that by a self-denying ordinance we propose to give, in order to ensure the protection and the advancement of our beloved subjects, as much as possible of the financial resources of the State, taking for ourselves just enough for the maintenance of our position and dignity as Rulers, as it is right that that position and dignity should be maintained. I wish to make it clear that it has never been our desire to have any scale prescribed by this Chamber for the apportionment of revenues between the sovereign and the State. That must be left entirely to the wise discretion of the Rulers themselves, who alone, as the honest custodians of their people's destinies, can be the best judges of this proportion, and fix it equitably according to the requirements of their subjects and their own reasonable needs.

Your Highnesses, let me pause for a moment and reflect what all this and any other step forward that we might take in improving our administration amount to. Is not the obligation to govern well inherent in our position? I say it is, and inasmuch as it is an obligation that we owe to our subjects, it is obvious that this obligation need not be, and indeed cannot be, imposed upon us by any external authority. We must recognise it ourselves, and therefore it would be an error to assume that any such avowals of duty as we make in this Chamber might lead to interference in our internal concerns. The obligation to govern well and rule wisely to which I have referred has always existed, and will always exist, as long as we desire to retain our privileged position. It is the concomitant of that position, and indeed its counterpart. We are therefore announcing, I would prefer to say proclaiming, that we fully recognise our obligations, and it is our will and desire to discharge them. It is not merely the knowledge that I have gained by personal contact, but also my deep instinctive faith in the disposition of my brother Princes here, that encourages me to assert with confidence that we are all resolved to do our duty by our subjects, and to do it wisely,—that is, having due regard to the local conditions and circumstances of our States. And when once this situation is admitted as always existing, there will be no difficulty in openly accepting the principle of good Government so ably moved by His Highness of Bikaner in his Resolution.

Your Highnesses, I can boldly say that there is no need of a radical change in our system. It is only a matter of developing our administration, as did our predecessors whenever the necessity arose for development. Whatever the form of Government, the true principle is the same. Our President, while visiting an Indian State last year, gave public expression to his views about the different forms of government in the following words :—

“ It may well be that we shall find that both British India and the States have something to learn from one another, and that each side can give much which will be to the benefit of both. The machinery of Government to-day in British India and the States is widely different. With you it is personal, however this personal rule may be qualified and assisted by the advice of those summoned by the Ruler to his counsels. We, on the other hand, have set the feet of British India upon the path that leads to such self-government as permits the will of the majority of the electorate to become the repository of

political power. If, however, the object of Government is the same, namely, to promote the welfare of those committed to its care, and if we may be agreed that, as Your Highness has said, whether exercised through one form of Government or another, power is an instrument entrusted to our hands for public, not private, benefit, I should foresee no insuperable difficulty in devising means by which in mutual respect both British India and the States should join as partners to bring their peculiar gifts to India's feet."

His Excellency reiterated this great truth once more in his opening speech at the Chamber when he said that "the form of Government may be of less importance than the spirit that inspires it." Let us, therefore, not misunderstand His Highness' Resolution, as it does not imply any necessity for a radical change. What we want is an honest endeavour to run our States in the true spirit of the principles of government already existing in our States. Our system with its ancient ideals of kingship is good enough, and if worked in the true spirit, I'll venture to say it will prove to be the best. We and our subjects have been linked together for generations by ties religious and moral which have endured through all the vicissitudes of the past, and it is these personal, and family relations between the Rulers and the ruled which create the special atmosphere of our States that only those who live in them can fully understand and appreciate. Your Highnesses will bear me out when I say that in other respects our States do not differ widely from the neighbouring parts of British India, though in the eyes of Western civilization our institutions may be somewhat old-fashioned, our incidence of population may be smaller, and life may jog more quietly,—the struggle for existence being not so acute. Therefore I maintain that what is really required for the progress of our States is steady development on lines suited, and acceptable to our people.

Your Excellency, it is never the intention of this Resolution to ask the Chamber in any way to dictate what those lines should be. This must, of course, be left to each State to decide according to its particular circumstances. Institutions must be suited to requirements, and those which would be required in a large and highly organised State would be, it is evident, out of place in a smaller and less advanced one. An elaborate judiciary with a still more elaborate system of laws, with a really competent High Court at the head of it, would be quite an unnecessary expense for a small State with smaller resources, where a few courts with suitable original and appellate powers would suffice. On the other hand, in a large State, it would be a mistake for the Ruler to spend his energies on details which can best be left to officials with suitable powers to dispose of. His task would be general supervision and to deal with broad questions of principle and policy, and in judicial matters he would usually retain in his own hands only the prerogative of mercy.

Similarly, in legislation, while taking the Acts of the Government of India or other progressive and advanced States as our guides, it will often be found that the principles of the system which they embody can be enacted in a simpler form to suit the simpler conditions of our States; for it is essential that the laws should be clearly and readily understood by the people.

For the agricultural population, which form the bulk of our subjects, the matter which is of the greatest importance is the Land Revenue system, which again can be made very simple. The cardinal principle of a good Land Revenue system is the security of tenure, which is the strongest inducement for the extension and improvement of cultivation and the fair division of the revenue between the State and the cultivator. At any rate for these classes of population which form the bulk of our subjects, the problem of the adjudication of civil rights to the end of dispensing justice is a simple one and easily within the means of us all. What we want is a body of

suitable laws and competent, independent, and incorruptible officials to administer them. For those of us who aspire to develop our States industrially, comprehensive laws and courts presided over by people capable of applying the highly complicated commercial laws would be indispensable. But the increased material prosperity of our subjects resulting from industrial and commercial activities must be reflected in our Revenue, and with enhanced Revenues we are bound to spend more and more on perfecting our administrative machinery.

Your Highnesses will thus see that apart from the question of obligation which we owe to our subjects,—a point with which I have already dealt at length,—we must, if we claim to be enlightened and progressive Rulers, spend more and still more money for the improvement of our administration, and the peace and contentment of our subjects. This does not mean that we should restrict ourselves personally in a manner calculated to detract from our hereditary rank and sovereign position. But this does mean that we make an absolutely fair and honourable division between our individual purposes and those of our subjects.

Your Excellency and Your Highnesses, I beg to associate myself with the Resolution which has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur : Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses ; I should like to associate myself whole-heartedly with the resolution of His Highness of Bikaner and all that it means, as so ably expounded by His Highness.

A Ruler's sheet-anchor, as also his supreme satisfaction, are to be found in the happiness, contentment and prosperity of his people and with these behind him he can view with comparative calm the changes and chances of surrounding conditions. A Ruler who is true to himself and his trust, and in close touch with the feelings and wants of his subjects, giving them good government, adequate to their resources, forms the most effective buttress to our ancient and indigenous system of rule, which it is our sincere object to see prosper, and to play its right and useful part in the future development of this great country. (Cheers.)

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor : Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses ; I may be permitted to address a few words in favour of the Resolution which is now before us. It is unnecessary for me to say that the Resolution proceeding from a Prince of a long administrative experience and rare diplomatic insight, tested in International Assemblies at Paris and Geneva, like His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, is hardly in need of any comments, or of a better guarantee, about its wisdom and inherent importance to our Order. His Highness has successfully piloted our Chamber, in its early days, as its Chancellor, and later on as an influential member of the Standing Committee, and we can rest assured that the lead which he has given us to-day, by giving a dignified and lucid expression, in the Resolution, to the principles of reforms which many of us are actually trying our best to follow in our States according to our varied resources and environments, and which ought always to be uppermost in our minds, as the guardians of the interests of our subjects, so as to develop the Eastern ideal of Kingship, in view of the changing times.

The Resolution embodies the broad principles expressed in the note of His Excellency the Viceroy on good government and the detailed speech addressed by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to the Legislative Council in his State. We all know that His Excellency the Viceroy has been taking a special interest in the welfare of the States, since he assumed the charge of his arduous post, and has visited more States in the early part of his regime than any of his predecessors, in order to study on the spot their problems and difficulties coupled with the progress achieved by them. His various important utterances in the States clearly indicate his sympathetic solicitude for their advancement, and it is hoped that the appointment of the Butler Committee, which he characterised in his inaugural address to be a landmark in the history of our relations, will result in the completion of

the task, which was imperfectly tackled in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and thereby the cherished name of His Excellency will go down to posterity, as a perpetual benefactor of the States.

His Highness the Chief of Sangli: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses; it is a great privilege to give my whole-hearted support to the Resolution before the House moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner with that ability and eloquence, which we have learnt to associate with him. The distinguished authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were not slow to detect the feeling of perturbation among the Princes at the inroads on their prerogatives. It is a matter for satisfaction that since then certain points relating thereto have been examined by the Standing Committee of this Chamber, and useful conclusions reached with the help of Government. But there are still many points, about which we feel much concern and which need investigation. It is to investigate and settle these points that with their usual anxiety for the welfare of the States, His Excellency the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State have been pleased to appoint the Indian States' Committee. The personnel of the Committee cannot but evoke confidence and admiration, and we feel sure that the interests of the big and small States alike will receive the most sympathetic and generous consideration at the hands of the Committee.

Ever since his arrival in India, His Excellency has been pleased to take a very keen interest in us, and has travelled enormous distances—not without detriment to his health—to gain a first hand knowledge of the conditions in our States. We can indeed never be too grateful to His Excellency for his great solicitude to promote our welfare, and especially to secure to us a future worthy of our important past. I am sure that once the respective rights and interests of British India and the Indian States are adjusted, they can march forward in happy mutual trust and friendship to the lasting good of the country as a whole and the Empire. It is to His Excellency that the credit must belong of paving the way for a settled policy, which will make for the perpetual solidarity of the Indian Empire; and for this consummation, His Excellency's name is bound to go down to posterity as that of the Viceroy, who really welded British India and the Indian States together, and thus for ever strengthened the ties binding the Princes of India to the Imperial Crown. While questions concerning the relationship between Government and our States are being referred to an eminent Committee for investigation and adjustment, we cannot afford to neglect our responsibility regarding our internal administration. It is on this account that the aspects of good administration, dwelt upon by the illustrious mover of this resolution, cannot be overemphasised. Sound administration is the only true basis of the prosperity and progress of a State, nay, it is the *sine qua non* of its very existence and survival. Your Highnesses, there is no need for me to tax the patience of the House, as the speakers who have preceded me have already dealt with the subject. I shall therefore simply say that representing as we do the ancient civilisation of the land which evolved the noble ideal of Rama Rajya, we should spare no efforts to improve the quality of our administration. We may not all of us be able to copy the form of government which may be suitable for British India. Some of us, at any rate, we, the smaller Princes, may find the machinery and methods appertaining to that form as too expensive for our resources. But as pointed out by our august President at the opening of this session, what is of importance is the spirit and not the form of administration. I am sure that all of us can strive within our means to maintain an administration, which will ensure the contentment and happiness of our people. With our cultural foundations and inherited traditions, we can look forward with hope and confidence to moulding our governments to suit the requirements of modern times, as not to retard the progress of our country. It therefore behoves us, who pride ourselves on our friendship and alliance with the Imperial Crown, to give as much heed as we can to the weighty and valuable words uttered by His Excellency in his friendly anxiety for our well-being.

In conclusion I once more appeal to Your Highness to pass the resolution whole-heartedly and unanimously, and to take back with us a determination to put it into execution and thus show to the world that the Chamber of Princes is a body which does not hatch plans in furtherance of the interests of the Rulers, as apart from those of their subjects, but that it is fully alive to the welfare of the subjects entrusted to their care.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I wish heartily to support the resolution so ably moved by His Highness of Bikaner and associate myself with all that His Highness has said regarding the Indian States Committee. His Highness has fully and ably explained the measures which are essential for good government and none of us can deny their importance and necessity. Your Highnesses, we cannot keep behind and must march with the times. I have no doubt that Your Highnesses will not minimise the necessity of taking steps, wherever they may be necessary, to put in force the measures proposed by His Highness, which, owing to the change of times, are most essential. They will prove beneficial in every way and cannot but advance the interests of all of us. A definite Code of Law guaranteeing the liberty of person and safety of property administered by an independent judiciary and a settlement on a reasonable basis of the personal expenditure of the Ruler are things most essential for the welfare, peace and prosperity of our States. I sincerely hope the resolution will receive the full support of all Your Highnesses. We should carry out the measures indicated in the resolution boldly, as by doing so all of us shall enhance our prestige and strengthen our position and show to people in and outside our States that we have real solicitude for the welfare of our subjects and are alive to the needs of the times. With these brief remarks I wish to support the resolution moved by His Highness of Bikaner and sincerely hope it will receive the full and hearty support of all Your Highnesses.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise with much pleasure to support the very important resolution His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has so ably and eloquently moved. I cordially join His Highness in expressing our grateful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and the British Government for appointing an expert Committee presided over by an experienced statesman and administrator in the person of Sir Harcourt Butler, to explore the question of political and economic relations of the Indian States with British India. I also echo the hope His Highness has expressed that "the result of the deliberations of the committee will be such as would still further strengthen the ties that bind the Princes of India with Imperial Crown. I entirely agree that it is not possible to devise and apply a uniform system of administration in all Indian States, but there are certain broad principles which can and should form the basis of our administrative policy and which are not affected by the diversity of local conditions and circumstances. To such principles the concluding part of the resolution draws our attention. In plain words the resolution asks us to place on record our realisation of the changing spirit of the times and our determination to make an effective response to it. I am sure that none of Your Highnesses will hesitate to accept the principles the resolution seeks to lay down. None of us will demur to the substitution of a reign of law in place of arbitrary Government. With all modesty I wish to say that in my own State I have always sought to keep these principles in view. To safeguard the personal liberty of our subjects and the security of their property, I consider as a sacred obligation imposed on ourselves and our government. In matters of personal expenditure I think a clear line must be drawn between the public treasury and Civil list and privy purse. Of course the latter must be fixed with due regard to the urgent needs and requirements of the administration. Naturally circumstances must vary in different States and it would not be practicable to adopt a uniform percentage for the Rulers of all Indian States. But what is important is that the proposition which the resolution embodies should be accented and put into operation as effectively as circumstances may allow. With these words I beg to support the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I feel that this resolution is very nearly going to compete so far as time is concerned with the one that I moved day before yesterday, which carried itself into the next day. But, as a matter of fact, after hearing much of importance of the dictated oratory and the view points expressed with regard to this resolution and other things brought alongside it, when we have cleared the morass of words and we come down to realities, after all His Highness' resolution proposes to consider it important for the future well-being of the States that they should carefully review their administrations, and then under headings A and B proposes first of all a definite code of law guaranteeing the liberty of person and safety of property administered by a judiciary independent of the executive. I will come to the second portion a little later.

When this resolution was being discussed by us elsewhere there was a fairly strong opposition to its being made dictatorial and it was there that we explained to all those that were present—and I only repeat it here in case that there may be few, which I doubt from the number of speakers that have given voice to their expression—that the sentiment which they might entertain as to why any interference is proposed in the administration of our internal sovereignty is not correct. The resolution merely proposes that it is important for the future well-being of the State that these two essential principles should be followed in our administrations. These are essentials for the good government of our States in order that we may expect to march along with time and along with our neighbours in British India but on our own pathways; but that itself can only be carried if we can be certain that our own internal administrations are conducted on sound lines. That surely is the duty of every Ruler. But amongst them the two on which emphasis is proposed to be laid in this resolution are what come under headings A and B. Now as regards the first part A which I am referring to, what does it really mean? The meaning is simple—that we should have courts of law which should be independent of what—of influences, influences whether pecuniary, whether of bribes, whether of their superior officers who may through indirect influence want to persuade a judge to decide a case in a certain way. Therefore we must make certain that the integrity of the judge is such that he should conduct his work independently of the executive and the judiciary. I believe I am correct in interpreting it in this way that it merely implies that the judiciary shall not fail. Well, if I decide certain cases, if we decide cases in a certain way it will please our executive officers and enable us to find better ways and means for our promotion. Or it also means that opportunities should be reduced where whispers might be conveyed into the ears of the judges that certain cases might be decided in a certain way. I do not think that it means,—it cannot mean,—that the judiciary being independent of the executive implies that the judiciary or the judicial officers are to be appointed by some one else other than the Ruler or his counsellors or his Ministers. Similarly with regard to portion B, the settlement upon a reasonable basis of the purely personal expenditure of the Ruler as distinct from the public charges of his administration. What does that imply? It implies that there should be so far as is possible an arrangement so that the revenues of the State do not find their way entirely into private coffers and the revenues are devoted in the interests of the people, in the interests of the subjects which is the main concern. State. But there are many difficulties in this respect also in States not of such large size as Hyderabad, Mysore, Kashmir and so forth. I do maintain that there are certain difficulties in procedure. In the first place it means the duplication of machinery, for if you have private motor-cars and State motor-cars, if you have private horses and State horses, if you have private carriages and State carriages, if you have private elephants and State elephants,—and so you can go on multiplying the number to a large extent—it would affect forcibly the States. The difficulty

would be in the duplication of machinery, but I think what is implied really is that the revenues of the States should not be diverted for personal ends and personal matters in such a way that the proper ends towards which such revenues should go are not achieved and that the administration suffers, and that a reasonable portion enough to satisfy one's personal desires at the same time, should be diverted in such a way as to fulfil the needs and the requirements of a good administration. I have only tried to elucidate these two points, perhaps in simpler language, at any rate that has been my attempt, so that if even in the minds of any single one of us present there should be any doubt or in the minds of those to whom this resolution will go, even that much doubt might be cleared and they might feel sanguine that when they are giving support to a resolution so amicably, so well moved by His Highness of Bikaner and so strongly supported by Your Highnesses, they are giving support to something which is after all the essentials of good government in the States, the good government on which rests the future of the Indian States.

His Excellency the Viceroy: If no other members of Your Highnesses' Chamber desire to speak, I should like to add one or two remarks before you proceed to your final decision. The importance of the resolution has been emphasised by the quality of speaking and the thoughts that lie behind the speeches which it has evoked. It is of course true, as many of Your Highnesses have said that large questions loom on the horizon that affect both your States and British India. I welcome the expressions of pleasure that find place in the resolution and that find place also in the speeches with regard to the appointment of the Indian States Committee. I now recognise that during the time I have been in India, as I think I have frequently said, that the States are at the present moment somewhat uncertain of their future and are not unnaturally anxious to place themselves in as secure a position as possible in regard to their Treaties and their constitutional engagements with the British Crown. That, as I have always made plain, is a perfectly legitimate desire on Your Highnesses' part, and I would go further and say that I conceive of no representative of the Crown in this country and no Secretary of State in Great Britain who would ever be unmindful of the assurances given to the States and repeated from time to time during recent years. But when one has said that there is something also that it is important to say which bears upon the resolution that His Highness of Bikaner has moved, and that is this. In the last resort and in the fulness of time I can entertain no doubt that an even more effective security for the States than assurances of good will on the part of either Viceroy or Secretaries of State will in the long run be found to consist in the quality and in the calibre of their administrations. His Highness of Bhopal, I think, made that point—which seems to me unanswerable—with great vigour and lucidity, and therefore feeling as I do that the States have a large and in many ways a peculiar contribution to make to all India, I am anxious that you should see them resting upon foundations that are unquestionably sound. Forms of Government or forms of administration may no doubt rightly vary according to traditions, to history, to circumstances, and to the stage of evolution that any particular society may have reached. But the conditions of good administration which are defined in the last paragraph of His Highness of Bikaner's resolution are essential to any form of government or to any form of administration that is desirous to claim the title of good administration. And it is a matter for great satisfaction that Your Highnesses should have brought forward this resolution, that it should have received so great a measure of support as it has in the Chamber this morning. I can suppose, reading between the lines of some speeches that have been made this morning, that there may have been in the minds of some a little hesitation as to the merits of the resolution itself or a little doubt as to the intrinsic character or desirability of the resolution, because of the fear that it might ultimately lead to a greater degree of interference by Political Officers in the internal affairs of Your Highnesses' States. I think,

if I may speak on this matter quite frankly, that such a fear, if it exists, is ill founded. Your Highnesses know my views I think well on the difficult question of intervention I stated them explicitly; as His Highness of Bikaner reminded us, in an address to this Chamber, I think, last year. I have nothing to add to or to withdraw from the statement that I then made. But it is surely clear that the effect of the resolution now under discussion must be in a direction exactly contrary to intervention rather than in a direction to favour intervention. The value of such a resolution as this consists to my mind in the fact that Your Highnesses of your own volition assert thereby your desire and your determination where it may be necessary to follow a certain line of policy as regards matters of importance for the betterment of administration in the States. Therefore I do not hesitate to say that if this resolution is carried, and where circumstances may still demand it effect is given to it in the spirit in which it is moved and in which it has been supported by Your Highnesses, that the Princes will have done something, which so far from increasing must tend to restrict the occasions on which public opinion or their own judgment would compel the Government of India to intervene. Therefore, for these reasons, I think, if I may offer my own opinion, that Your Highnesses are acting wisely if you accept this resolution, as I have little doubt, from the trend of the debate, that you will. It will go out to the larger public that Your Highnesses are not insensible to the necessity of bringing your administrations up to the standard that is now demanded of administrations where that is necessary, and in taking that course, I have no doubt that Your Highnesses are rendering the greatest service that is in your power both to your Order and to what is more important than your Order, the prosperity and the contentment of your people and of your States. (Cheers.)

I will now put the Maharaja of Bikaner's resolution formally to the meeting. I think Your Highnesses have a copy before you. Those in favour may raise their hands in the usual way.

The resolution is carried unanimously.

I am afraid it is my duty to warn Your Highnesses that we seem to be drifting perilously near Saturday session, and so I would ask Your Highnesses to refrain from making any engagements that are inconsistent with the discharge of your duties in the Chamber on Saturday; if that be necessary. We shall, I hope, meet to-morrow morning, when I think in fulfilment of our undertaking to the Maharaja of Kapurthala, it will be the wish of Your Highnesses to give precedence to his resolution about the League of Nations, subject to anything that the Chancellor may in the course of the afternoon decide. I hope that we should get as much more business into the morning as we can, and we can finally decide to-morrow morning whether a Saturday session is possible. I am afraid the omens look rather that it would be.

The Chamber is now adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH DAY,

February 24th, 1928.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present : —

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Central India.

The Rao of Alipura.	His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch).
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.
His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.

Bombay.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor.	His Highness the Mir of Khairpur.
The Raja of Chhota Udepur (Minor).	His Highness the Chief of Sangli.
The Chief of Jamkhandi.	

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Maharaja Rana Saheb of Porbandar.
The Thakor Saheb of Limbdi.	His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.
The Thakor Saheb of Palitana.	

Punjab States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.	His Highness the Raja of Suket.
His Highness the Raja of Mandi.	

Central Provinces.

The Raja of Korea.	The Ruling Chief of Nandgaon.
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Punjab.

The Rana of Baghat.	The Raja of Kalsia.
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Agendum No. 4.

Statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala regarding his work as a representative of India at the meeting of the League of Nations in 1927.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala: Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses; it is a great honour to me that for the second time in succession I am enjoying to-day the privilege of appearing before this Chamber to submit a statement on the work of the Indian Delegation at the Assembly of the League of Nations. When I received from the Secretary of State for India an invitation, on the part of himself and Your Excellency, to serve once more as one of the representatives of India, I was glad to be able to accept it because I regarded it a great privilege to have been nominated once more to represent India and also because the invitation afforded me an opportunity of placing at the disposal of the Indian Delegation what little experience I had gained in the previous year.

Last year there were several matters of which I thought that Your Excellency and Your Highnesses would wish me to speak at some length, such as the admission of Germany to the League, the change in the method of election of non-permanent Members of the Council and the Slavery Convention. There are no topics of this year's discussion on which I propose to address you in so much detail. Last year, moreover, I ventured to give you some account of the general impressions which the Assembly of the League made upon me, and this I need not repeat. I shall not, therefore, have to make so large a demand upon the time and patience of the Chamber as last year, particularly as the Report of the Delegation has already been published.

The Members of the Delegation who had been to Geneva before were, in addition to myself, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Member of the Executive Council of Madras, Sir Edward Chamier, Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, and Sir B. K. Mullick, Judge of the Patna High Court. The new-comers were the Right Honourable The Earl of Lytton and Sir Fazl-i-Husain, Member of the Executive Council of the Punjab. The eminent services of the Earl of Lytton as Governor of Bengal are a matter of such recent history, and his personal qualities are so well-known to Your Excellency and the Members of this Chamber, that it is hardly necessary for me to point out how well-fitted he was by his knowledge of India, by his experience of statesmanship and by his distinguished social position to act as our leader. Constituted in this way the Delegation was able, as I think I may fairly claim on its behalf, to live up to the high tradition established by its predecessors.

Before describing the work of the Eighth Assembly I should like to revert in two respects to the work of the Seventh Assembly and its consequences. In the first place, I have no hesitation in saying that the admission of Germany to the League has been justified in a manner which requires no qualification and that Germany is now playing fully the part due to her political importance and is doing so in accordance with the lofty traditions already established by the League. I had the pleasure of entertaining, as well as the honour of being entertained by, Members of the German Delegation, and in expressing my appreciation of their attitude I am able to speak with personal knowledge. Secondly, the Chamber will remember that I described last year the new system of election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, which was intended to guarantee the operation of the principle of rotation, while, at the same time, enabling States with special claims to continuance of membership to be declared re-eligible for a further period. Under these arrangements three States retired this year from the Council and of these one, Belgium asked to be

declared re-eligible. There are many States which considered that Belgium, as one of the signatories of the Locarno Agreements, ought to remain on the Council together with the other signatories. But the opinion of those who felt it desirable to make an emphatic assertion of the principle of rotation prevailed, and Belgium just failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority for re-eligibility. It was a happy result of this decision that Canada was successful in her candidature for election to the Council and thus became the first Dominion Member of the British Empire to get a seat on the Council, an event which is of very great importance with regard to the constitutional relations of the Empire internally and on account of its implication that the international status of the Dominions, as defined at the last Imperial Conference, is fully recognised outside the Empire itself.

Coming now to the work of the Eighth Assembly, I must preface my treatment of particular questions with a few general observations. The Assembly undoubtedly opened in an atmosphere of depression. Allegations had been made in various quarters that international questions of first class importance were being dealt with outside the League machinery and that the Great Powers were showing a tendency to restrict the activities of the League to second-class questions and were treating the quarterly meetings of the Council as occasions for meetings of a small group of leading statesmen behind closed doors. Moreover, disappointment was being felt and expressed with the slow progress which was being made in regard to the fundamental question of disarmament. These feelings had been brought to a head by the resignations shortly before the Assembly opened of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood and of M. de Jouvenel from the British and French Delegations respectively. I am sure that I am only reflecting the general, if not the unanimous, view when I say that the Assembly served to dispel these anxieties in a very large measure. Fundamental questions were debated fully and searchingly and with a frankness which has probably not been equalled before and which must have greatly surprised the critics of the League, who represent Geneva as the home of banality and insincerity. In spite of this frankness, indeed probably because of it, the League emerged from the Eighth Assembly fortified and reinvigorated. For this reason the Eighth Assembly was as critical and important as any of its predecessors, and the sense of its importance was marked by the fact that the leading statesmen of the leading countries, whose great pre-occupations have generally caused them to resign the leadership of their delegations into other hands after the first week or so of the Assembly's duration, stayed in Geneva much longer than usual, and indeed M. Briand of France and Herr Stresemann of Germany remained to the very end.

Pride of place in the general debate was undoubtedly taken by the closely connected problems of security and disarmament, with which is also associated that of arbitration. But two other important currents of discussion were discernible. One was that of the alleged conflict of interests and prestige between the Great Powers on the one hand and the medium and small powers on the other. The view which the latter, or some of them, were supposed to entertain was expressed in a manner which certainly did not partake of reticence or timidity. It was, in our view, effectively dissipated not only by the general trend of the proceedings, in which some at any rate of the smaller powers played a part which was by no means unworthy of their dignity and position, not only also by the pronouncements of leading statesmen of the Great Powers, among whom I would mention the names of Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand, but even by the utterances of representatives of certain of the small powers themselves and particularly of M. Motta, a staunch supporter of the League since its beginning and the President of the Swiss Confederation—a minor power the peculiarity of whose position is significant.

The other current of debate, which I have not yet mentioned, is that which tended to emphasize the increasing importance to be attached to the technical, as contrasted with the political activities of the League. Under this heading are included those which are connected with economic, social and

hygienic questions. It was, I imagine, not expected or intended by those who founded the League that these questions would ever attain an importance in the sphere of the League's activities which could be rationally compared with the importance of its political work. But the increasing importance of the technical work of the League is an undoubted fact and it is one of great interest to us in India because while in the present position of world politics the political activities of the League are bound to have a predominantly European significance, there are possibilities of a more universal character in the work of the technical organisations. Several delegates, including the British Delegate Sir Edward Hilton Young, whose services in connection with the finances of India are fresh in our memories, and Dr. Stresemann, spoke of the value of the economic work of the League as a means of preventing the occurrence of the conditions which lead to war, and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, who had the honour of opening the general debate in the Assembly, spoke convincingly of the importance of the universal character of the economic and hygienic work of the League.

I must now refer in a very summary fashion to the subject of disarmament which lies at the root of the ideals which inspired the creation of the League. We in India only maintain armed forces sufficient to meet the primary necessities of maintaining internal order and of ensuring the safety and integrity of our frontiers. Nothing that has happened in recent years, or that is likely to happen in the foreseeable future, whether by reason of the League's existence or otherwise, has diminished for us the force of these necessities and we in India have no direct interest in the League's work of disarmament except—a point which is often overlooked—that if armaments in Europe were materially reduced there would be an increase of prosperity in which we might expect to share. But in Europe the position is not everywhere the same. It is not untrue to say that, to some extent at any rate, armaments are maintained on an unnecessary scale simply because elsewhere also unnecessary armaments are maintained. Armaments intended to provide security create insecurity. Nearly all countries are clamouring for the reduction of the burden of armaments, so far as they are maintained at an artificial level, but they are not willing to sacrifice in any way the sense of security. For years the League has debated whether armaments can be diminished so as to increase security or whether security can be increased so that armaments may be diminished. First the problem was approached by means of attempts to provide greater security through collective guarantees. But it proved that the countries which would be chiefly responsible for enforcing the guarantees found the responsibility too heavy to accept. Then it was decided to make a direct attempt to reduce armaments in the existing conditions of security. But the course of events between the Seventh and Eighth Assemblies had shown that this attempt was unlikely to succeed. In these conditions it seemed to many when the Eighth Assembly opened that a deadlock had been reached. It was the principal achievement of the Eighth Assembly to find means by which the twin problems of disarmament and security might be studied and proceeded with simultaneously so that each might react upon the other. In this way there is ground for hope that progress will be made during the present year.

If I have not already wearied the Chamber, I must describe very briefly the part taken by the Indian Delegation in the Committee work of the Assembly. On the First (Legal and Constitutional) Committee we were represented by those learned lawyers Sir Edward Chamier and Sir B. K. Mullick. On the Second Committee (Technical Organisations) the Earl of Lytton, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Sir Fazl-i-Husain represented the interests of India in various matters, economic, hygienic, financial and intellectual. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar enjoyed the considerable distinction of being elected Rapporteur for Health questions. In the Third Committee (Disarmament) the Earl of Lytton made a speech describing the position of India and dealing with the question generally, which made a marked impression and caused much favourable comment. In the Fourth Committee (Budget) Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Sir Fazl-i-Husain maintained and

enhanced the reputation of the Indian Delegation for the judicious and effective control of expenditure which dates from the early days of the League when the late Sir William Meyer was leader of the Indian Delegation. I myself served on the Fifth Committee (Humanitarian and Social questions) and on the Sixth (Political) Committee in co-operation with Sir B. K. Mullick, and I was also a Member of the Third Committee. The Fifth and Sixth Committees have much excellent work in hand but it so happened that they touched the interests of India at comparatively few points. Last year I had ventured in the Fifth Committee, following the example of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala the year before, to express a warning in regard to the treatment of matters affecting women and children, lest excess of zeal should lead to methods and criteria which may be suitable for Europe being applied with regrettable consequences to the East. I think that our warnings have had a useful effect and that the possibilities of trouble which we had reason to anticipate are sensibly reduced. This year I only found it necessary to intervene in the discussions on the subject of slavery in regard to which the Chamber will remember that a Convention was concluded in 1926. I first of all spoke of the admirable work accomplished in the Kingdom of Nepal and I took the opportunity of correcting a misapprehension for which the Indian Delegation of 1926 had been inadvertently responsible, namely, that the liberation of slaves in Nepal had been inspired by the League. I referred also to the success of the reforms introduced by His Highness the Khan of Kalāt and to the liberating expeditions in Burma. I stated finally that in accordance with an undertaking given in 1926, when for constitutional reasons the Indian States were excluded from the Convention, the Government of India had taken steps to bring the Convention to the notice of the Rulers of the Indian States.

I have now said all that appears to me to be necessary with regard to strictly official matters. Those who have preceded me at Geneva will know that during the Assembly there is much social activity of an official, semi-official and private character. Both as a Member of the Delegation and in my personal capacity, I had the pleasure of entertaining and of being entertained by many notable and distinguished personalities representing many nations and countries. The Ruler of an Indian State in Geneva has to consider his personal dignity and rank as that of his Order. Speaking as the result of two years experience I am glad to inform Your Highnesses that goodwill and appreciation have obviated and smoothed away the difficulties which are apt to arise in regard to social precedence in the very peculiar conditions at Geneva. The honour with which I was everywhere received and the high precedence everywhere accorded to me is, I venture to think, a sign of the high consideration with which our Order is regarded by the statesmen of the world.

In conclusion with all modesty I would repeat the view which I expressed last year, that the presence of an Indian Prince in the Indian Delegation at Geneva is a factor of considerable value. I think so not only because the representation of India would be incomplete without him, which is of course the essential reason for his presence, but because he is able to contribute to the understanding outside India of the unique position occupied by the Indian States and because also the Assembly may possibly have its lessons for us. Is there not some resemblance between this Chamber of Princes and that Assembly of Nations in which sovereign States are able to find means of common deliberation and common action in matters of common interest without any sacrifice of the essentials of their individual dignity and individual rights? There are, of course, differences which occur to the mind at once and this is not the occasion on which to develop such a line of thought. But I venture to suggest that the analogy is worthy of some attention.

I thank Your Excellency and Your Highnesses for your courteous and patient hearing.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; after what His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has stated

to Your Highnesses regarding the work done by the 8th Assembly of the League of Nations on which he represented India and the Princes once again, I have very little left to say. We have scrutinised his statement with rapt attention and there is no gainsaying the fact that he has well represented our point of view, on matters in which India and the Indian States in particular, have an interest. His colleagues consisted of able statesmen and in the Right Honourable the Earl of Lytton, my great friend, they were most fortunate in their principal. It was, I am led to think, owing to this combination of men of wide experience, that they managed to steer calmly in somewhat troubled waters. Whatever, therefore, they have been able to achieve is a matter of congratulation and our thanks are due to them for the successful manner in which they have acquitted themselves of their responsibilities.

We quite fall in with His Highness' views on the question of armament, to the exposition whereof His Highness of Bikaner contributed a great deal in the meetings of the Vth Assembly of the League of Nations. The question embodies the basic principle of international peace and comity, and humanity would be grateful to the VIIIth Assembly if a real solution could be found of the twin and vexed problems of armament and security.

It is a matter of personal gratification to me that His Highness realised the supreme importance of, and revived, the question to which I had given the lead—the question affecting the condition and welfare of women and children—and I greatly hope that if this matter is pressed with zeal by future delegations, we shall before long arrive at a satisfactory solution of this vitally important problem.

We are also grateful to His Highness of Kapurthala in dispelling any misconceptions in regard to the question of slavery which had created an unfavourable impression about the Indian States.

His Highness of Kapurthala, Your Highnesses will realise, has a very wide experience of men and things. It was, therefore, only just, right and natural that his name should have been associated with the work achieved by the two most important Committees of the Assembly. Those of us who have been to Geneva know that if a delegate intends to discharge his responsibilities seriously, he is undertaking no small task. The strain on his energies, as is plain, must have been severe, and we are the more grateful to him on that account.

His Highness has given abundant proof of his ability to tackle the most intricate problems vitally affecting India and the Indian States, in a very easy and graceful manner and we can scarcely thank him sufficiently. He has become immensely popular abroad and is generally treated with high precedence and honour of which both he and we whom he represented may well be proud. The choice of the Government of India in selecting him for this Imperial Mission, therefore, fell on just the right person.

Your Highnesses, the Session of the VIIIth Assembly was an important one because in this session the Indian policy was determined on independent lines in matters in which India possesses independent interests. The position of India in the League is being steadily strengthened and it has been rightly urged in the Report of the Indian Delegation that it would be a matter of great regret if the opportunities offered to India by the League were imperfectly realised through ignorance or misunderstanding of the facts.

There is yet much to be done in order to bring to a satisfactory termination the various matters of which His Highness of Kapurthala may rightly claim to be the originator and there is no doubt his successors on the League will be proud to follow the lines chalked out by him.

With this short preface I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I beg to associate myself with the resolution for a vote of thanks to

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala who has so ably performed his duties in connection with the League of Nations, and I second the resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: If no other member of the Chamber desires to speak, I will put the vote of thanks that has been moved by His Highness the Chancellor to the vote. Before doing so let me add one sentence, that it has been a great pleasure to me to hear again this year as last year both from the leader of the Indian Delegation and from the authorities at Geneva, who are able to watch the activities of the representatives of all countries at all the Assemblies, the warmest accounts of the work done by the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging how well, by his work there, he has, so far as I can judge, served India and the Empire.

Your Highnesses have heard the vote of thanks moved by His Highness of Patiala and supported by His Highness of Malerkotla. Those in favour may show hands in the usual way.

(The vote of thanks was passed unanimously.)

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I feel most grateful for the kind terms in which Your Excellency has again referred to my share, to His Highness the Chancellor for the complimentary reference on the subject and to my brother Princes for their unanimous approval in passing the vote of thanks.

Agenda Nos. 11 and 11-A.

Resolutions from His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as Chancellor or as Members of the Standing Committee.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: There are two resolutions down in my name to be moved to-day, one regarding the votes being announced on the floor of the Chamber in connection with the Chancellor's election, and the second one in connection with the Standing Committee; and I have been asked by the Chair to combine these two resolutions into one by moving them, as they more or less relate to the same subject, namely, the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes. It is my happy destiny in moving this combined resolution to feel that I do not think, in this instance, I need emphasise too much the justification or the propriety of this resolution, which I feel will be supported by most of Your Highnesses, if not all. For I feel certain that Your Highnesses naturally would wish to know, at the end of the election when the papers have been collected, what the votes are exactly in favour of the Chancellor and what the votes are in favour of the various members of the Standing Committee. Therefore, without any further preface, I propose that the Narendra Mandal recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that the following be substituted for the last sentence of Rule 7 in Appendix A to the First Regulations of the constitution of the Chamber of Princes, relating to the election of the Chancellor. "The number of votes recorded for each member shall, at the time of declaring the result of election, be announced on the floor of the Chamber", and that the Narendra Mandal recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy that the following be substituted for the last sentence of Rule 7, in Appendix B to the First Regulations of the constitution of the Chamber of Princes, relating to the election of the Standing Committee. "The number of votes recorded for each member shall, at the time of declaring the result of election, be announced on the floor of the Chamber". I move this resolution for Your Highnesses' consideration and acceptance.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; the resolution which has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar is one which has my heartiest support. It seems to me very business-like and more in accordance with the ordinary rules of practice that befit a dignified assembly of this kind than the present procedure. If I understand the matter right, the secrecy of the ballot is in no way threatened. It simply means that those members of the Chamber who are honoured by receiving the suffrages of their fellow members for the office of the Chancellor will know precisely where they stand; and what proportion of the total membership of the Chamber considers them worthy to occupy the office. Anything which makes for frankness and for plain speaking has my hearty support; and I feel that nothing but good can result from the announcement on the floor of the Chamber of the number of votes recorded for each member at the time of the election.

The principle which underlies this resolution is identical with the principle underlying the one proposing the announcement of the vote for the Chancellor. I need not repeat what I have already said in a previous connection; but will content myself with stating that the resolution has my hearty support. It will conduce to clarity and frankness in our proceedings: it will in no way threaten the secrecy of the ballot. For this reason I trust Your Highnesses will agree with me that we should accord it our heartiest support.

With these words I beg to support the resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses have heard the resolution moved and seconded. I will put it to the vote. Those in favour of the Maharaja of Alwar's resolution hold up their hands.

Thank you. The resolution is carried unanimously.

Agendum No. 7.

Assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation purposes, etc.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; Your Highnesses might recall that my predecessor, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, in concluding his report on the subject of assessment of compensation for land required for Railways in Indian States, said that the Standing Committee had recommended that the principles embodied in the revised summary relating to land required for Railway purposes be made applicable also to acquisition of land required for canal purposes, and that the question should be taken up separately as soon as may be feasible. Accordingly a summary was prepared by the Government of India and considered at a meeting of the Standing Committee held in December last. The principles of compensation in paragraph 1 of this summary require a State acquiring Government land in British territory, which involves submergence of considerable areas, to pay in addition, *if the circumstances warrant it*, compensation for the loss of miscellaneous revenue derived from such areas. It was felt and unanimously agreed that the words "*if the circumstances warrant it*" were redundant and should be omitted. Apart from this amendment, it was considered that the procedure outlined secured, except in the case of States who, under the terms of their Treaties, Sanads or any existing contract, are bound to provide land in their territories free of cost (Paragraph III), the desired reciprocity and was simple in application. We are satisfied that the summary, if approved, will in no way prejudice the interests of the States and although such occasions will arise very seldom, I believe the element of arbitration a very sound proviso being the cheapest way for settling differences of opinion.

Besides the framing of rules for compensation on land acquired for Railway lands, which has since emerged in the form of Government of India Resolution No. 493-I., dated the 30th March, 1926, it was but necessary to have a regular procedure outlined for the acquisition of lands for canal and irrigation purposes. In essentials, the procedure to which the Princes on the Standing Committee have now given their assent, is the one already approved of by Your Highnesses.

I, therefore, move that the general approval of the Chamber be accorded to the report of the Standing Committee

His Excellency the Viceroy: Anybody seconding that?

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor: Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses ; in supporting the resolution, item No. 7 on the Agenda, *i.e.*, on compensation for lands taken for irrigation purposes, I wish to give my general support to the summary now placed before the Chamber for approval, reserving my right to suggest some modifications when I believe the summary as now approved by the Chamber will be circulated to the Darbars individually and to Local Governments as usual for remarks. The Standing Committee will then have again to consider it in the light of the views which will be received in reply. And then the summary will be again placed before the Chamber for approval, after incorporating into it any changes that will be deemed necessary. I may be permitted to take this opportunity of making a few observations which I hope will be useful to Your Highnesses in giving your consideration to the summary just now as well as when it will come to Your Highnesses for your views later on in due course

The Chamber had two occasions in the past to accord its approval to the summary as revised by the Standing Committee, containing general principles for the assessment of compensation for land required for Railway purposes in Indian States or British territory. The present summary has been generally prepared on those lines. There appears to be one agreeable innovation in it. It relates to compensation of loss of miscellaneous revenues, in addition, derived from areas which will be submerged under water by the construction of large irrigation works, when they are considerable. The loss was not hitherto recognised in calculating the compensation, probably because there was no question of wholesale acquisition of compact and considerable areas consisting of several villages for Railway and similar other purposes as is the case in the acquisition involved in the execution of an irrigation scheme. The recognition of the loss of miscellaneous revenue, although in a modified form, is thus no doubt an improvement in the right direction. But the summary as framed at present, even with the above modification, is not, in my humble opinion, calculated to fully safeguard our interests, and more especially those of the smaller States, and it is my intention to bring to the notice of the House the apprehensions which I feel in the matter for Your Highnesses' due consideration. I have had a considerable experience of this matter as my State was repeatedly called upon to co-operate with Government for facilitating their large irrigation schemes in the Deccan since 1865 A. D. The total demands on my territory in connection with four dams have amounted to nearly 18 square miles of fertile area up to now from a large number of villages, and more such demands, I have every reason to fear, are likely to follow in the near future. From the nature of these demands my Darbar at times apprehended that States which are already small like mine will be reduced to very small and barren principalities or are likely to be totally wiped out from the map if the process of taking considerable slices out of them goes on in future in this way. I have therefore to request the Government of India and the Standing Committee to provide a safeguard in the summary at the time of its reconsideration against the fear I have expressed. I may also venture to suggest that there must be some limit to the demand of territory on Indian

States in proportion to their extent, or there should be a provision whereby such States might be able to claim an exchange of territory, coupled with a certain share of the profit from the scheme as a special case in order to maintain their dignity intact without causing any substantial diminution in the extent of their area as well as jurisdiction and population which follow in its wake when several villages have to evacuate as it is impossible to compensate in rupees, annas and pies the loss of population, jurisdiction and prospective revenue which they entail.

Next, there is the question of the royalty over the water which will be stored by the construction of such schemes. It does not appear to have been dealt with in the summary before us. This question, which is undoubtedly an intricate one, does not arise in the acquisition of land for Railway purposes on the analogy of which the present summary has been based. But it is important in the consideration of the principles governing the acquisition of land for irrigation works. There are again two different kinds of irrigation works in which two or more powers are involved. Firstly, there will be works which will be jointly floated in the joint interests of both. Secondly, there will be works which can be beneficial to the rayats of one Government at the sacrifice of the interest of another Government and its rayats as has been my own experience owing to my territory being on a higher level. In the first case, no difficulty can arise and the summary can be smoothly applied, but the same is inadequate to cover the second case which will have to be provided for by special agreement at least as an exceptional contingency.

The summary at present before us has, like its predecessors, naturally been prepared keeping in view the principle of reciprocity. But when we would take into consideration that our Chamber consists of differently placed large States as well as small ones, Your Highnesses will perceive that the same general principles would not be equally suitable to all in each and every case. Let me straightaway concede that the summary in question is all right in ordinary cases and when two parties of substantial resources are concerned in which it is possible for either party to equally take the advantage and bear the sacrifices, following the principles mutually agreed to. But the relations of many of us with the British power are like those between a party with vast means and powers and another with very meagre resources. In these circumstances it is quite natural that only a very few of us will be able to profit by the principles contained in the summary as it is, in view of the vast financial resources and the highly expert staff required for launching big irrigation schemes, while the rest of us will be frequently required to yield land for the different schemes of British Government. It will therefore be desirable to provide for the grant of a 15 per cent. solatium on the amount of compensation in order to establish real reciprocity in the matter as provided for the benefit of private persons in the Land Acquisition Act.

There is one more important point in the summary to which I wish to invite the attention of the House before I conclude. In clause (i) it seems that provision has been made for considering the indirect advantages accruing to the Government in whose jurisdiction lands are to be acquired in the settlement of the compensation for extinguished land revenue. One would naturally expect a corresponding provision for, taking into consideration the indirect advantages accruing to the acquiring Government from the proposed work, for granting some special concessions to the losing State as well as its rayats when the question of compensating the losing State would be dealt with, as it is at the sacrifice of their interest that the other party is able to secure a gain.

In short the summary will have to be amended so as to provide a limit for the acquisition or in the alternative for an exchange of territory and a share of the profit from the scheme as well as for compensation by way of royalty. Similarly it will be necessary to provide a 15 per cent. solatium and special concessions to the losing powers and its rayats in proportion to the advantage that will be derived by the acquiring Government, etc.

Lastly, Your Excellency, I must in fairness confess with a sense of gratitude that although I had to face many difficulties in the settlement of the question of the recently completed Lloyd Dam which Your Excellency has seen and where I had the high honour of receiving Your Excellency with my humble hospitality, all the officials of Government with whom I had occasion to discuss it were sympathetic and generous, and I hope the result would be fairly favourable through their support for which I am specially thankful to Your Excellency and His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson, the Governor of Bombay. With these remarks I resume my seat.

His Excellency the Viceroy: It has been proposed by the Chancellor that the Chamber should accord its general approval to the report of the Standing Committee.

(The report was approved unanimously.)

Agendum No. 6.

Employment of Europeans, etc., in Indian States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise once again to present to Your Highnesses the report of the Standing Committee on the subject of employment of Europeans in the Indian States. The subject is not unfamiliar to Your Highnesses, having already received the consideration of this House in November 1924. The Summary as then approved by Your Highnesses (Column II) was revised by the Government of India after consultation with Local Governments, Political Officers and Darbars, and was discussed by the Standing Committee in December last. It is very necessary to acquaint Your Highnesses with the changes subsequently effected, and I have taken the liberty to quote at length where the revised summary differs from that approved by the Chamber.

- (1) The phrase " Europeans and Americans " in para. (a) of Clause I, has been narrowed down to " European British Subjects " and the salary limit reduced from Rs. 900 to Rs. 500.
- (2) The word " Aliens " in para. (d) has been extended to include Americans ".
- (3) In all cases where the consent of the Government of India is necessary, and is accorded, its further consent should be obtained, in any case where a State contemplates a substantial change in the nature of the employment for which consent was originally sought.
- (4) In all cases, whether the consent of the Government of India is necessary or not, the Government of India will have the right to require a Darbar to dispense with the services of any person whom Government may consider undesirable.

Items (3) and (4) above did not form part of the previous summary.

Besides, in the case of appointments below the revised salary limit, such particulars as are available regarding these persons should be communicated at the time when information about their engagement is conveyed to the Government of India.

The Standing Committee considered that the salary limit of Rs. 500 was rather too low in these days of high prices and high salaries; and eventually decided that it should be raised to Rs. 700. It was also suggested that the necessity for obtaining the consent of the Government of India should be confined to such high appointments as that of Dewan, Minister, etc., although it was felt that it would not be easy to arrive at a satisfactory classification of such appointments.

The clause requiring further consent of the Government of India before a State Government can effect a substantial change in the nature of the duties was the subject of much comment and discussion. It appeared to us to be unnecessary and we felt that the Government of India having once satisfied themselves as to the suitability of an individual for employment in an Indian State, should ordinarily find no occasion to object to his being employed in a different capacity. No States, we felt, would be likely to transfer an employee to the occupation for which he was unsuited but if this ever took place the State concerned would be prepared to pay for the experiment. A provision to this effect was, however, considered necessary in the case of employment of retired Political Officers, and it was recognised that difficulties might occur if he were appointed as Foreign Minister in a State which had obtained Government's consent to his employment in another capacity. After discussion it was decided that it would meet the requirements of the case if the sub-clause in question is replaced by a provision on the following lines :—

“ In all cases where a retired officer of the Indian Political Department was employed by an Indian State with the consent of the Government of India no substantial change in the nature of his duties should be made without the further consent of the Government of India ”

The Standing Committee regarded with considerable misgivings the inclusion of the sub-clause providing for the right of the Government of India to require a State to dispense with the services of any man whom Government may consider undesirable. It was pointed out that this sub-clause was not only an innovation, not having been incorporated in the previous summaries, but was also capable of an unduly wide interpretation, extending, as worded, to all employees of an Indian State whether or not their original employment required the consent of the Government of India, and as such open to misconception. The Standing Committee, therefore, urged that there was absolutely no necessity for the incorporation of this sub-clause, but gave an undertaking that on the occasion of any emergency involving public safety, or in case of grave misrule necessitating the withdrawal of an officer to whose employment the conditions in the summary applied, the State concerned would accede to the wishes of the Government of India on being assured of the necessity for the action indicated.

Thus Your Highnesses will find that the Standing Committee has taken every care to stand by the decision to which this House had once already given its consent and that the little additions that have come in are in no way calculated to restrict or jeopardise the freedom of action of the authorities of an Indian State to take from their employees the service for which they are pre-eminently most fitted.

The subject is of considerable importance and it would be well if it were to come to some final form now. I would, therefore, request Your Highnesses to accord your general approval to the recommendations made by the Standing Committee as embodied in the summary placed before Your Highnesses.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch: Your Excellency, I beg to second the request of His Highness with regard to the summary which His Highness the Chancellor has just submitted to the House.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The question is that this Chamber accords its general approval to the report of the Standing Committee regarding the employment of Europeans, etc.

(The report was approved unanimously.)

Agendum No. 5.*Construction of tramways in Indian States.*

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, do I understand that it is your desire that we should take up the discussion on the item of tramways? Would it be convenient to take up that now?

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch: It is not on the day's agenda.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I appreciate that.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; it is my desire to speak on this subject and as the item is not on the agenda I am not prepared to submit my remarks to-day. But I shall be quite prepared to-morrow to say what I wish to submit to the House for consideration and I would, therefore, beg that this question be postponed till to-morrow.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Of course I am entirely in the hands of the House in this matter and His Highness is technically perfectly right in observing as His Highness of Alwar does that this item is not on the agenda. The explanation of that is that it was suggested to me late last night that it might be possible and might be for the general convenience of a good many of Your Highnesses number if we are able to sit rather long to-morrow and conclude what is the more formal and technical part of our business. As far as I am concerned I once said that I was fully prepared to comply with the desire of the Chamber if it was the general desire. It is entirely within the power of any member to assert the technical objection that the item is not on the agenda, which I should be bound to support and to sustain and therefore if His Highness after hearing what I have said takes up that point and feels he cannot do justice to the discussion before to-morrow morning, then there is nothing more to be said. I should at the conclusion of to-day's business adjourn till to-morrow.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch: Perhaps I might respectfully suggest that Your Excellency might take the sense of the other Princes as to whether they wish the question to be taken up either to-day or to-morrow. I do not wish my personal convenience to come in the way of the convenience of the House.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: I support His Highness in this request. If it is to Your Excellency's convenience they can be postponed possibly because we are not prepared to discuss certain points that are likely to be brought up in the debate which I conceive is to take place on this important subject.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I think that in view of what has been said by His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar Your Highnesses will be unwilling to put any undue pressure upon those who had points to make on which they might feel they would be unable to do justice by taking up to-day, and therefore, if Your Highnesses agree I should suggest that I should finally decide that we should meet to-morrow, and in so doing may be ourselves within the technical rules of order, even at the price of some personal inconvenience, and I presume, therefore, that our business to-morrow would be everything that is not on this paper including the tramway point and including the formal reply of Your Highnesses to my speech.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I think we will be able to get through the work except this point and the reply which I have to address to Your Excellency on behalf of the Princes.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The work that is on the agenda includes everything except six and two. Very good.

'Then I think the next item, if we may conclude our business items, on the paper is the resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir: No. 8 on the day's work-card concerning the attendance of the Chancellor's Secretary.

Agendum No. 9.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the attendance of the Chancellor's Secretary, etc., at the meetings of the Standing Committee.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to move the following resolution :—

- A. That the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor should invariably attend all meetings of the Standing Committee and speak whenever invited to do so by any member of the Standing Committee.
- B. That any expert adviser or advisers whom Their Highnesses on the Standing Committee may select for special or technical purposes should be entitled to attend meetings of the Standing Committee whenever any experts or advisers of the Government of India attend such meetings and on such occasions they should be entitled to address the meeting at the request of any member of the Standing Committee.

I have little doubt that Your Highnesses will realise that for the effective and successful working of the Standing Committee, the resolution placed before you is of great importance.

I will deal firstly with my proposal that the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor should be entitled to attend the meetings of the Standing Committee and to speak at such meetings when invited to do so. That officer by the very virtue of his office occupies a position of intimacy and responsibility with the working of the Standing Committee and of the Chamber. However able and knowledgeable and painstaking His Highness the Chancellor may happen to be, considering the fact that he is also the active ruler of a State he cannot be expected to be acquainted with every detail of every case which comes up for discussion. I do not think it is necessary for me to say any more about this claim; it cannot but be admitted that the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes should be given the advantage of the presence of his Secretary at the meetings of the Standing Committee.

I will now deal with the claim that any expert officer or officers whom Their Highnesses the Princes on the Standing Committee may desire to select for special purposes, should be entitled to attend the meetings of the Standing Committee and to speak at such meetings when invited to do so. Your Highnesses are aware that it is often the case that technical and complicated questions dealing with such matters as mining rights, coinage, railway jurisdiction and fiscal rights, which are specialised subjects requiring detailed and sometimes lifelong study, come up for discussion. On such occasions the Government of India bring their experts to the Standing Committee but a similar facility is not at present accorded to the Princes. It cannot be expected that the Princes on the Standing Committee should also be experts on every technical question and that they should be able to effectively argue with the technical spokesmen of the Government of India. I therefore claim that in common equity an alteration of the rules empowering the Standing Committee also to nominate its experts, is of immediate necessity if our interests are to be properly safeguarded. Your Highnesses will have noted that the resolution does not suggest that the Chancellor's Secretary or the expert officers called in should be entitled to speak at or take part

in the proceedings, as a matter of course. The resolution specifically recommends that they should be entitled to attend and to speak when invited to do so by a member of the Standing Committee.

There are two possible objections which may be raised. One is that it would be against the prestige of Your Highnesses' Standing Committee to admit to its sittings persons who are not Ruling Princes. Whatever point this objection might have, is lost by the fact that the Political Secretary to the Government of India is present at all the meetings of the Standing Committee and, as I have already stated, the Government of India cause the attendance of its expert officers also.

Another objection may be raised on the ground of secrecy. The Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor must *ipso facto* be a fully trusted official who must by virtue of his position have full acquaintance with all documents and proceedings and consequently such an objection could not be applied to his attendance at the meetings of the Standing Committee. As regards expert officers invited to attend, I would point out that the resolution lays down that they will only be invited when questions requiring expert knowledge are being discussed.

I trust I have sufficiently explained how important it is for the efficient working of the Standing Committee that this resolution should be accepted by Your Highnesses.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; the proposal placed before Your Highnesses by His Highness of Kashmir is so inseparably connected with the efficient and successful handling of the many technical questions which the Standing Committee is called upon to deal with, that I cannot adequately emphasise the necessity of its adoption.

I have no doubt that my colleagues on the Standing Committee will bear me out when I say that our experience of the working of the Standing Committee has conclusively proved to us that the assistance which we now seek to obtain is not only a desideratum but also an absolute necessity. Its absence has, in the past, been a fruitful source of difficulties and delay. The Princes on the Standing Committee, however thorough their grasp of subjects may be, cannot reasonably be expected to have the knowledge of details which an expert would have and I feel that, without adequate assistance, our discussions at the meetings of the Standing Committee are not as successful as they would otherwise be. Even the Political Secretary to the Government of India, who himself selects the subjects for discussion and is thoroughly conversant with them, feels that he is not competent to deal with every question that is raised and is invariably aided by experts who answer and argue at the meetings of the Standing Committee as if they were members of equal rank and status. It is, therefore, only just and fair that the Princes should enjoy equal freedom and be able to invite their own experts to assist and guide them in their discussions. In most cases, it will be the Secretary to the Chancellor, who will assist in the deliberations, by virtue of the position which he occupies and because of the fact that he is in possession of all facts and figures, being in constant touch with the special work of the Chancellor. But occasionally, when the Secretary feels that his information requires to be supplemented, an expert or experts, as the case may be, will be added.

It is clearly evident that the proposal is sound, legitimate, and essential to the successful working of the Standing Committee. I, therefore, lend to it my entire and whole-hearted support and commend it to Your Highnesses for acceptance.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I was beginning to feel very diffident at the commencement in having to speak on this subject lest it should appear as though I was going in any sense whatsoever to oppose His Highness' resolution. But from the

remarks that His Highness has added in his speech after moving the resolution many of my doubts have been removed. While I completely sympathise with His Highness, having had some experience of that distinguished body, the Standing Committee, in the necessity of having expert advisers, especially on technical points and particularly when we invite officers of the Government of India to come and assist us with their advice, it is necessary on such occasions, and I entirely agree with His Highness, to have expert officers of our own also to attend and give us advice on such technical questions. I must frankly confess that my anxiety was in feeling that by no conception would it be advisable that the Standing Committees should gradually turn into Committees of Ministers carrying on the deliberations in place of the members themselves. For that I think would be a situation that would not be one that would be feasible, or certainly not one that could be admired in the interests and the position of our Chamber. And, therefore, as His Highness has explained at great length, the points which caused doubt in my mind and about which I had my notes for my reply, I find that if some of them, the original ones which His Highness has subsequently explained, were incorporated into the resolution, it would remove all doubts and misunderstandings in the future, and therefore I was going to propose a few amendments to the original resolution which I shall attempt to read out. But the principal factor, as I have already stated, and one which I will emphasise, is that the Standing Committee should not by a gradual process of introduction of Ministers, Secretaries, or anybody else turn into a Committee where Ministers will principally deliberate and practically, very practically, also assist in coming to definite conclusions; and it would be, although it is a far-fetched idea, most unfortunate if the places of Princes were in such cases taken by the members whom they invited. It is only in that sense that I have made these remarks. It is only in that sense that I propose the amendments for Your Highnesses' consideration. The resolution reads, and I will suggest alterations as I go along, that this Chamber recommends to His Excellency the Viceroy

(As there was a misunderstanding of the resolution under discussion, His Excellency the Viceroy read out the resolution).

His Excellency the Viceroy: Perhaps it would assist to clarify the issues for my own information and that of others if I read the actual resolution.

A. That the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor should invariably attend all meetings of the Standing Committee and speak whenever invited to do so by any member of the Standing Committee.

B. That any expert adviser or advisers whom Their Highnesses on the Standing Committee may select for special or technical purposes should be entitled to attend meetings of the Standing Committee whenever any experts or advisers of the Government of India attend such meetings and on such occasions they should be entitled to address the meeting at the request of any member of the Standing Committee.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: I am very glad to find, Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, that all the points that I had noted down have been covered by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir's revised resolution about the Secretary being separated from the special advisers, about the special advisers speaking on special occasions only, and so forth; and I have little more to add. I should like to suggest two amendments to this which are also covered by one of the notes which I have made which is not down in this resolution. In the first part it is stated that the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor

His Excellency the Viceroy: If I may interrupt His Highness one moment, I am anxious to keep the Chamber in order, and I think it will please the Chamber if first they secured the assent to what His Highness has done, namely, in moving the resolution in a new form. The new form will

then take after the subsequent resolution, and on that resolution it will be open to His Highness to move or to amend. The question I would therefore put is this. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir asked leave to move his resolution in a new form which I have read to the Chamber. Is it your pleasure that leave should be granted? The resolution that is before the Chamber is the new one in the amended form as read out by myself, and it is to that amended resolution that His Highness now I understand has proposed a new amendment.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses; Well may I congratulate His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir cordially on his revised resolution which I think will meet with general approval, and I have only one suggestion to make for Your Highnesses' consideration. The resolution *Part A* reads "that the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor should invariably attend all meetings of the Standing Committee and speak whenever invited to do so by any member of the Standing Committee". I would propose "any member" being cut out and left so by "the Standing Committee". That means to say that one member might individually want the Secretary to address them while the rest of them might not wish it. Therefore the Standing Committee might unanimously or at any rate by majority say that it should be done. My second proposition is exactly similar. At the end, whenever any expert advisers of the Government of India attend such meetings they will be entitled to address the meetings at the request of any member of the Standing Committee. I should again personally prefer the Standing Committee which can be a matter of adjustment inside the Committee itself. These are the only two amendments that I have to propose for Your Highnesses' consideration in the resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: As the amended resolution has met with the strong support of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar it will be unnecessary for me to take up the time of the House by referring to some of his earlier remarks based on the original resolution. I will, therefore, first state that I do not think His Highness or anyone else need have any apprehension that His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, or His Highness the Chancellor, or any other member of the Standing Committee, or indeed any Prince who is a member of this Chamber, desires or proposes that the Princes Standing Committee should be converted into a committee of Ministers. That has not been proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir nor by anyone else, and I do not think that there is any need of misapprehension.

His Highness proposes that on every occasion, where the necessity is felt for the Secretary to the Chancellor or any technical expert to attend, we, the whole Standing Committee, should, during each of these discussions, have a vote and by a majority of votes decide whether the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor or the technical expert is or is not to speak. Where the Government of India experts attend our Committee meetings no such voting has ever taken place or had ever been even proposed, and I submit that the work of our Committee and our deliberations will be rendered intensely intricate, unnecessarily complicated and unnecessarily delayed to have a vote taken every time anyone feels the necessity for the Secretary to the Chancellor or the expert to speak. But we are not children and we can surely leave, as drafted by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Secretary or the expert to speak when we feel the necessity for it. If any member for any particular reasons feels that the Secretary or the expert should not be allowed to speak it would be open to him to raise the point, but I do beg His Highness not to accept such a complicated system which will render work impossible.

His Excellency the Viceroy : I cannot help thinking that His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, in referring to the question in this way, put it

on slightly too formal a basis. I have not had the privilege, at least I have not had to exercise the privilege, of attending the meetings of the Standing Committee, but I believe them to be wholly of an informal character, and I hope that that informal character would be maintained, and I conceive, if the Chancellor's Secretary under this resolution or any expert attends with Your Highnesses on the Standing Committee, that the situation might even occur in which the Secretary and the expert in the enthusiasm of argument would speak without being invited. I should myself regard that as not very serious. In an informal discussion I should have thought it would be the kind of thing which would easily adjust itself, and in practice would not at all in any way have been inconvenient. Therefore, I would join in appealing to His Highness of Alwar not to press his amendments, but to leave it to the general sense of the individuals concerned and to those who took part in these deliberations.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: If I may say so, Your Excellency, I did not attempt to make the Standing Committee business so formal that every time when the Secretary or the member should wish to invite one to speak a vote should be taken. What I implied and what I said finally was that it was a matter which would be adjusted in the Committee itself in their own friendly deliberations. I intended to say nothing more than to follow the course that is observed at the present day. We decide things between ourselves in an amicable informal manner as questions come up, and it is only in that spirit that I made these suggestions, and in doing so I was careful to avoid the word amendment. Because after receiving Your Highnesses' views on the subject I would then be able to see whether you approve of moving the amendment, in which I should make an amendment. Otherwise it would remain a suggestion on which Your Highnesses have given me an expression of your views and so has His Excellency the President.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I understand that His Highness of Alwar does not move his suggestion in the form of an amendment. Therefore there is no amendment technically before the Chamber to His Highness' resolution.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise to support the resolution which has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir. The usefulness as well as the necessity of the measure are so obvious that there is hardly any need to adduce arguments to support it. There can be no doubt that the presence of the Chancellor's Secretary and other officers, selected doubtless for their expert knowledge as occasion demands, will be materially helpful to the Standing Committee in dealing with the various complicated, and not infrequently technical problems which come before them for solution. Combined with the salutary safeguard that these officers are to speak only when invited to do so, the proposition becomes free from any danger of misconstruction. I therefore venture to presume that it will meet with Your Highnesses' ready acceptance.

His Excellency the Viceroy: The motion is that the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor should invariably attend all meetings of the Standing Committee and speak whenever invited to do so by a member of the Standing Committee, that any expert adviser or advisers whom Their Highnesses on the Standing Committee may select for special or technical purposes should be entitled to attend meetings of the Standing Committee, whenever any experts or advisers of the Government of India attend such meetings, and on such occasions they will be entitled to address the meeting at the request of any member of the Standing Committee.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

Agendum No. 10.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the raising of the quorum of the Standing Committee from three to five and the filling of the place of the members of the Standing Committee in their absence by Princes next in order of voting.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; the resolution which I now rise to move reads as follows :—

- (a) that the quorum of the Standing Committee be raised from three to five;
- (b) that after the Standing Committee has been elected, the Chamber should proceed to elect a panel of six Members to be Substitute Members of the Standing Committee;
- (c) that in the unavoidable absence of any Members of the Standing Committee, Members of the Chamber who have been elected Substitute Members of the Standing Committee, should be requested by His Highness the Chancellor in the order of votes they receive to attend in the places thus temporarily vacant.

This resolution involves in my opinion more than a matter of procedure; it is of considerable constitutional importance as well.

My object in recommending that the quorum should be raised is to give greater weight to the decisions of the Standing Committee. As it is, those of Your Highnesses who are on the Standing Committee will, I feel sure, support me in my statement that we have often felt the weight of responsibility attaching to decisions taken on behalf of this Chamber by a quorum of three only, and the result has often been that the Standing Committee has on that account postponed decisions of considerable importance and sometimes of urgency, feeling that it was not right to commit the Chamber in such important matters to decisions taken in its name by a quorum of three members only.

The proposal which I have placed before Your Highnesses to-day is that the minimum number of members constituting a legal meeting of the Standing Committee should be raised from three to five.

I may be permitted to perhaps anticipate an objection which may seem at first sight to militate against the proposition. It may be said that this resolution goes against our previous experience, when the original quorum of four was found to be unworkable and had to be reduced to three because it was not always possible for even four Princes to attend.

I agree, but I would point out that a safeguard is included in the second part of the resolution which recommends that in the unavoidable absence of any members of the Standing Committee, members of the Chamber who have been elected Substitute Members for the Standing Committee should be requested by His Highness the Chancellor in the order of the votes they receive to attend in the place thus temporarily vacant. This provision would provide the Standing Committee with a number of substitute members able to take the place of those unable to attend. The system of having substitute members at hand is neither novel nor unconstitutional. It is, doubtless, within Your Highnesses' knowledge that the nations of the world nominate substitute members in their delegations to the League of Nations. The only difference here would be that the members next in rank of voting would *ipso facto* be the substitute members and would have the right of being invited to the Standing Committee in the absence of the permanent members. This procedure would, I venture to suggest, obviate the difficulty of securing a full quorum for all the meetings of the Standing Committee. It would also secure continuity in the work of the Committee and afford valuable training to several Members of our Order and equip them for full membership in course of time.

Your Highnesses, as time goes on, the subjects brought up before the Standing Committee become more and more important and it is necessary

that there should be the fullest possible consideration in Committee of every matter discussed and that important matters should not be postponed as has been the practice hitherto. As all decisions of the Standing Committee necessarily carry great weight with the Chamber, the responsibility of the members constituting the Standing Committee is naturally heavy and it is therefore essential that the quorum should be raised and that attendance at meetings should be ensured.

For the reasons I have stated, it appears to me necessary that the proposals embodied in this resolution should be given effect to. I hope that the resolution will meet with Your Highnesses' kind acceptance.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Kashmir has moved his resolution in a very forcible and convincing manner leaving no room for doubt as to the utility of the proposal before us. It, therefore, merits our unanimous approval and I beg to second it with all the persuasion that I can command.

With Your Excellency's permission, I would point out that the conditions, under which the proposal for reduction in the quorum of the Standing Committee first came to be made in 1923, have long since changed. The Standing Committee has in the last few years acquired a position of great moment and importance and its members are taking keener and more active interest in its deliberations; they consider it their bounden duty to attend its meetings and make a point of participating in as many meetings as possible. Experience has also shown that when important questions are at stake, the present small quorum of the Standing Committee does not like to commit itself on behalf of the absent members. Urgent items, therefore, are sometimes postponed. This proves a strong impediment in the way of active progress and it is, therefore, no wonder that subjects, which on the score of their importance, should be carried through without loss of time, are kept hanging fire for years together without producing any satisfactory results. The proposal now made not only seeks to minimise the chances of such half-hearted and sporadic discussion of important questions in future but also to regulate and control all accumulated arrears of the past.

It may with some reason be contended that with a larger quorum speedy and unanimous decision will be neither easy nor frequent; but the provision entitling the specially elected Substitute Members to take, in the order of voting, the place of the absent members, makes it almost impossible that an impasse, such as is apprehended, will ever occur. There is one thing which may strike some of us, namely, that the member or members who thus come in temporarily or at such short notice may not have such insight into and familiarity with the details of the subjects discussed as would otherwise be desirable and that if this were to be the case a larger quorum will not perhaps be of much benefit. But if each Substitute Member who may, when necessity arises, be called upon to join the Standing Committee, knew how and where he stood in the order of votes secured by him, it may be expected that he will keep himself posted in what is likely to be expected of him.

The remaining points of the proposal no doubt mean another amendment of the existing regulations but are certainly well worth the trouble. I for one would press it, so as to make the proposal made by my dear Bhai His Highness of Kashmir as complete as possible. I have my own reasons to advance in favour of the desirability of the votes secured by each member offering himself for election either as Chancellor or as member of the Standing Committee being announced.

May I hope that Your Highnesses will desire to associate yourselves with me in according the proposal your unanimous approval?

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur: The resolution which is before us now deserves a warm and cordial support. I do, and I am

sure all of us should feel very grateful to His Highness of Kashmir for so thoughtfully introducing this question.

The plan he proposes is designed to meet a recurring and irksome difficulty. This difficulty arises inevitably from the conditions of the membership alike of this Chamber and of the Standing Committee.

All the members of the Chamber and hence of the Standing Committee are busy men tied down generally with manifold and varied responsibilities of their own. It is, therefore, hardly fair to expect, even with the very best will in the world, for every member of the Standing Committee irrevocably to be present at every meeting, especially when on several past occasions we all know pre-arranged dates have, owing to other pressing and urgent reasons, been shifted at a moment's notice.

I hope Your Highnesses will fully realise that it is essential and of primary importance that urgent business for our cause should not be delayed for want of a quorum. It is equally essential, also, that the very important affairs transacted by the Standing Committee should, in every case, be minutely considered by an assemblage which is in every way fully representative of Your Highnesses.

The plan proposed by His Highness by raising the number of the Standing Committee fully ensures that weighty affairs will be weightily considered. At the same time, it provides for a welcome provision, in the absence from any cause of members of the Standing Committee, for most usefully filling the places, thus vacated, by substitute members specially elected by Your Highnesses for the purpose.

I, therefore, strongly feel, in the interest of our common work, that we should unanimously address His Excellency—our President—and should ask him by sanctioning the adoption of the proposed change, to relieve our procedure of a distinct disadvantage from which it has so long suffered. With these few words, I heartily support the resolution and hope all Your Highnesses will do the same.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; in the first place I may with the permission of His Highness point out that towards the end of his statement he referred to my moving a resolution, but I am afraid on that account his Secretary has mixed up His Highness of Kashmir and myself, for His Highness of Patiala has stated to me that he was referring at that time to His Highness of Kashmir. With regard to the actual resolution that is before us regarding the raising of the quorum from three to five I entirely agree. Then, His Highness of Kashmir's resolution runs that after the Standing Committee has been elected the Chamber should proceed to elect a panel of six other members to be substitute members of the Standing Committee. On that point, if I may, I should like to ask His Highness one question—whether His Highness intends that another election should take place with these six members or whether in the same election in the Standing Committee the first six will be taken to be the members of the Standing Committee and the next six as substitute members.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir: My intention is to have as many Princes attending as possible, but as to how that is to be ensured is to my mind a matter of absolutely pure detail. At the informal discussion the other day I understood some of Their Highnesses thought they would prefer a separate election, so I have changed my resolution, having informed the fact to the Political Secretary for His Excellency's approval in accordance with the wishes of what I understood to be a certain number of Princes. But as to whether you wish to take the first six on the Standing Committee or the next six that come in with votes one, two or three, is a matter that I am not personally interested in, and I would leave it to Your Highnesses to decide as best as you can or as you like.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: I have got nothing particular to say but perhaps it will be simpler from the point of view of election if the next six on the Standing Committee are taken.

With regard to point 'C' that in the unavoidable absence of any members of the Standing Committee, members of the Chamber who have been elected substitute members of the Standing Committee should be requested by His Highness the Chancellor in the order of the votes they receive to attend in the place thus temporarily vacant. I feel very diffident in having to say so but I find myself not in agreement with His Highness of Kashmir on that one point because I believe, and that is my own personal opinion, that the members of the Standing Committee as they are elected should not have substitute members replacing them, because I think that it might on the one hand cause a certain amount of lack of interest on the part of certain permanent members of the Standing Committee to attend. They may think that it would be possible always to get their substitutes to come in their place. The argument I have heard advanced in reply to that is that perhaps if the permanent members of the Standing Committee knew that they were going to have substitutes it would encourage them to perform their duties and to attend to their business more regularly than if they felt they had nobody to substitute them. But personally I am of opinion that it is better to have permanent members of the Standing Committee and at the same time to expect all of them to come and fill the quorum which His Highness raises from three to five with which I agree.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner : Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses; it will be recalled that sometime ago I moved, when I was Chancellor, a resolution for reducing the quorum under the constitution and rules then in force, because of the difficulty of ensuring the requisite number of Princes attending, and we—very nearly when on one or two occasions going to meet—had to go away because of the want of quorum. Your Highnesses will recall that on that occasion His Highness of Alwar opposed my resolution and wanted a larger number to be maintained. It was in deference, if I remember rightly, to Lord Reading's appeal that His Highness after expressing his gratification at having caused a lively debate withdrew his resolution. To-day we have a resolution again asking that the quorum be raised. His Highness of Kashmir has made clear the reasons in his remarks in introducing this resolution. There is no doubt about it that as the work of our Standing Committee increases in importance, it is inevitable that the Princes and States who are not present at the Standing Committee work will of course pay attention to the qualities of the Princes actually present. But I am quite sure that the Princes will also be influenced in coming to their own conclusions on the recommendations of the Standing Committee on the number of Princes present. If you have three out of seven, there is this drawback, that it will be said that it was by no means even the majority of the Princes on the Standing Committee who gave certain opinions or made certain recommendations, that therefore they are not representative, or at least do not carry the same weight as a larger number of Princes present.

The second point that I would ask Your Highnesses to bear in mind is that it is important that as many Princes as possible should be fitted for, and should be encouraged to acquaint themselves with, the task which the Standing Committee performs; and another of the advantages of His Highness of Kashmir's resolution is the educative value—of training Princes who in days to come will relieve us of our burdens or succeed us when we are no longer alive, or are wanted on the Standing Committee or when we no longer retain your confidence any further.

His Highness of Alwar, I understand, began by saying that he was in general agreement with the resolution of His Highness of Kashmir. I may have confused what His Highness said, but I understand now that His Highness is opposed to His Highness' resolution although I am not aware clearly whether he is definitely moving an amendment or not, but I believe he is not. In any case one important point to which I would invite Your Highnesses' attention is that it is presumed that you return by your votes, or you elect, such Princes to the Standing Committee as in

the first place, in Your Highnesses' estimation, are capable of discharging their duties and taking their duties seriously. If that is so, and if Your Highnesses really have confidence in the representatives whom you elect from the Chamber, I do not think Your Highnesses need fear that those whom you elect to the Standing Committee will, like school boys, be only too glad to take a holiday whenever they can and refrain from attending the meeting of the Standing Committee, and that therefore His Highness of Kashmir's proposal of substitute members will lead to those whom you elect, in the first instance, staying away, just because they want a holiday.

As regards His Highness of Alwar's question as to why it is proposed that there should be two elections, it is I think a perfectly valid and legitimate question which necessitates a clear reply, and as His Highness was not present at the informal meetings, when we discussed this question in considerable detail, I would remind Your Highnesses of what happened long ago when we introduced separate voting for the Chancellor and separate voting for the Standing Committee. Those of Your Highnesses who were present at our Standing Committee meetings will recall that it was felt that when all the Princes were concentrating their votes on one Prince whom they wanted to elect as Chancellor it followed that they were not thinking at the time of the second, but only of the first man they wanted, and therefore the Prince who received second largest number of votes as Chancellor did not necessarily represent the views of the Princes as being in their estimation the second best man they wanted as a substitute or pro-Chancellor. The same remarks therefore apply to the elections on the Standing Committee. Your Highnesses will to-day for instance be voting for the six best men amongst us whom you want to represent you and who enjoy your confidence. You are not thinking of the six next best men, and therefore all your votes will be concentrated on the six best in your opinion. Now when we know who are the six who have received the largest number of votes and who have been returned, Your Highnesses will then have to turn and think of six other names whom probably you would not have thought of in entering among the first six. And the names of the second six will therefore be clear before you only when you know who are the six best elected to the Standing Committee, and I hope, therefore, although it involves a few minutes delay, that Your Highnesses will at least give this a trial, for after hearing the results of to-day's voting of the first six who will be on the Committee and the second six who will be substitute members, it will be time for Your Highnesses to review your decision later.

His Highness the Maharaja of Porbandar: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I beg to support the resolution just put forward for Your Highnesses' consideration by His Highness of Kashmir. His Highness has dealt fully with the advantages that would accrue to our Order by our making a rule that no decision should be taken without full deliberation on matters that come before the Standing Committee; no deliberation, Your Highnesses, could be considered adequate where not even five members of our Committee are present.

The second part of the resolution is wisely designed and would initiate more members of our Order in the heavy work which the Standing Committee is required to do; it has also the singular merit of ensuring continuity of the valuable work which the present members of our Standing Committee are doing, as by this process there will always be a larger panel of members from which we could elect our Standing Committee.

Your Highnesses undoubtedly realise the importance of the present resolution from various standpoints. I therefore very warmly support it.

The Chief of Jamkhandi: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I have great pleasure in lending my support to the Resolution, moved by His Highness of Kashmir. As I see it, the plan proposed will have two advantages, first, it will make the work of the Standing Committee more authoritative; secondly, it will acquaint some other Members of Our Order,

who are not elected on the Standing Committee, with the course of business and the methods of procedure. The ultimate result will be to place at the disposal of the Chamber a larger number of Members, who have valuable experience in the conduct of the business of Our Order.

I heartily support the resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, I have listened with attention to this debate, and although I realise that a good many of the considerations that have been advanced are of the kind that cut bothways, I have no doubt myself that in my opinion the balance of argument lies in favour of the resolution that His Highness of Kashmir has proposed. And as far as I am concerned I have no observation but the willing acceptance, as President, of this proposed change. I will now put it to the vote of the Chamber, and I would ask those in favour to hold up their hands.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

Agendum No. 13.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding reciprocity between British India and Indian States as regards the recognition of previous convictions awarded by the Courts of other States or of British India.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses; I rise again to move another resolution on a subject which is closely connected with the administration of criminal justice. It runs thus :—

“ That for purposes of Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, previous convictions by courts of Indian States should be recognised by the Government of India on the clear understanding that Indian States would in their turn recognize previous convictions by British Indian Courts. ”

The object of section 75 of the Indian Penal Code is very plain and its necessity undisputed. It provides enhanced punishment for habitual offenders for certain classes of offences, *i.e.*, offences against public com and offences against property. A necessary ingredient of the evidence in such cases is the proving of previous convictions, but section 75, as at present constituted, takes into consideration only previous convictions by British Courts or those courts of the Indian States which are “acting under the general or special authority of the Governor-General in Council or of any Local Government.” The object of the present resolution, therefore, is to delete the qualifying words “acting under the general or special authority of the Governor-General in Council or of any Local Government,” and to place all courts of the Indian States on the same level as the British Courts for purposes of recognizing convictions by such courts. The object of section 75 being merely to award deterrent sentences to habitual offenders, there is no reason why habitual offenders of the Indian States should be allowed to go unchecked in British India or conversely habitual offenders in British India should go without adequate punishment in the Indian States.

Most of the Indian States have adopted the Indian Penal Code with certain variations to suit local conditions; at any rate, all the main principles are enforced practically in all the States. The judicial machinery of the States has also undergone considerable improvement since the Indian Penal Code was enacted. The object of British Courts, as well as of the Courts in the Indian States, is to bring offenders to trial, and in the case of habitual offenders, to award deterrent sentences. There is no reason, therefore, why they should not recognize previous convictions by other courts. At present lack of reciprocity in this matter leads to undesirable consequences. Habitual offenders residing in British territory,

when tried in the States for offences under chapters 12 and 17 of the Indian Penal Code, get off with a comparatively lenient sentence, which is not commensurate with the gravity of the offences. Conversely, the habitual offenders of the Indian States very often migrate to British India to try new fields of activity and when brought to justice they do not get a sentence adequate enough to act as a deterrent simply because British Courts do not take into consideration the convictions awarded by the State Courts.

I, therefore, propose for Your Highnesses' acceptance, that section 75 of the Penal Code be so amended so as to include all the Courts of the Indian States, at any rate, of all those States which are willing to recognize the convictions of British Courts.

His Highness the Maharaja of Panna: Your Excellency ; Your Highnesses; in seconding this resolution I feel that there is very little that can be usefully added to the lucid exposition of the question which has been so ably placed before the House by His Highness of Patiala.

The purpose which Section 75 of the Penal Code is intended to serve is to afford adequate protection to Society from the dangers consequent upon the criminal propensities of habitual and hardened law-breakers. The effect of the present restriction upon recognition of previous convictions is that half the benefit of this salutary provision of the law is lost alike to British India and to the Indian States. For, ours is a land of multiplicity of jurisdictions, and when a criminal after one or two convictions, finds one centre too hot for him, the present state of the law supplies him with a profitable inducement to seek fresh fields and pastures across the border, one after another in succession, there to carry on his nefarious activities with comparatively less risk and greater comfort. The object of this resolution is to save society from this danger.

A further point is that Clause (b) of Section 75 results in practice in bringing about an anomalous situation. The said clause was added in the year 1910 for the purpose of providing for the recognition of convictions by Courts of places like the Berars, which though technically coming in the category of the Indian States were yet under the control of the Government of India. Courts of States under the temporary administration of Government are covered by this clause. Thus, whereas convictions by such Courts would be recognised in British India during the period of the temporary administration, they would cease to be so recognised as soon as the Ruler assumed charge of his State. Most of the Indian States have now adopted Codes of law which are identical with or similar to those of British India and their judiciary is manned by trained and competent officers. Civil decrees are already recognised wherever the States have expressed their willingness for reciprocity. There is no reason why criminal convictions should not be similarly dealt with. It will be beneficial both to British India and the Indian States. For these reasons I beg to second this resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, I may have one word to add before asking the Chamber to express its opinion. I fully appreciate the conditions of reciprocity in this matter that have been urged by those who have introduced and supported the resolution. At the same time Your Highnesses will be aware that there are some other matters of importance, administrative importance, raised by the question and I cannot say more on behalf of Government at this stage than that Government will consider it with every desire to meet the wish expressed in the resolution. If that meets with Your Highnesses' general approval we should propose to take steps to consult Local Governments and Political Officers and to invite any observations that they might have to make in regard to it. The question is that this Chamber recommends to the Viceroy that for purposes of section 75 of the Indian Penal Code previous convictions by Courts of Indian States should be recognised by the Government of India on the

clear understanding that Indian States would in their turn recognise previous convictions by British Indian Courts.

(The resolution was carried unanimously.)

Agendum No. 5.

Construction of tramways in Indian States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: May I appeal to Your Excellency to reconsider your ruling about the question of the tramways? For to-morrow I want to propose, as the mover, that the question be again sent back to the Standing Committee for further consideration, and those of Their Highnesses who are particularly interested and concerned over this question may be asked to write to the Political Secretary as well as to the Chancellor for further reconsideration by the Standing Committee of this all important question.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: In that case we can finish to-day.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch: Your Excellency, I have no objection to the proposal of His Highness the Chancellor.'

His Excellency the Viceroy: May I take it that it carries the general assent of the Chamber. The effect of that will be, as I understand, to remove the question of tramways from the agenda on the occasion of this meeting in order to refer it again for further consideration by the Standing Committee. Is that your pleasure? Thank you.

Agendum No. 14.

Election of the Chancellor.

His Excellency the Viceroy: We now proceed to the election of the Chancellor. I think that all Your Highnesses have voting papers in your places. Before you actually vote I would ask the Political Secretary to remind those who might otherwise forget them two or three rules that govern the business in hand.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Watson: Your Highnesses, there are three points on which there has sometimes been uncertainty in the past. The first to which I would draw your attention is that for the post of Chancellor, the second for the membership of the Standing Committee and the third for the additional panel which would be voted for, only permanent members of the Chamber in their own right are eligible. Secondly in voting for the Chancellor, only one name is required; in voting for the Standing Committee six names only; when voting for the panel, six; and thirdly no signature is required on any of the papers in any of the three votings.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I would ask Your Highnesses first of all to record your votes for the Chancellor.

If there is any confusion I should like to make that clear. Your Highnesses are voting only for the Chancellor. After that you will be invited to record votes for the six members of the Standing Committee. In accordance with the resolution that you have passed just now you will then be invited to vote for six substitute members.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Watson:

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala	32 votes.
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar	2 „

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: I am most grateful for Your Highnesses placing confidence in me again for the third time to be your Chancellor. Your Highnesses, I will try and do my best, as I have tried in the past, to serve Your Highnesses' cause and look after the interests of the States, as I have been doing in the past to the best of my ability.

Agendum No. 15.

Election of the Standing Committee.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar: Your Excellency, while the voting papers are being examined, might I ask one question. When the voting for the substitute members comes off, will they be invited on occasions of vacancies in the order of precedence of their votes?

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: That was the idea.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I am not sure whether that had actually appeared in the resolution. But I think at least that was in the minds of the mover and those who supported it.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir: That is in the resolution.

His Excellency the Viceroy: I think the answer to His Highness of Alwar is "Yes".

The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Watson: The result of the voting for the Standing Committee is as follows:

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner	34 votes.
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal	30 „
His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar	29 „
His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir	28 „
His Highness the Maharao of Cutch	17 „
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar	16 „

His Excellency the Viceroy: Will Your Highnesses now proceed to fill in the names of six substitute members?

The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Watson: The following is the result of the voting:—

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur	27 votes.
His Highness the Chief of Sangli	21 „
His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur	18 „
His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur	17 „
His Highness the Maharaja of Panna	16 „
His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala	15 „

(Cheers).

His Excellency the Viceroy: I understand that it meets the general convenience of Your Highnesses that we should after all meet to-morrow at 12 o'clock for the reply of the Princes to my speech and also for my final reply. I adjourn accordingly till 12 to-morrow.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH DAY.

February 25th, 1928.

The following Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present :—

Baroda.

His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda.

Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Central India.

The Rao of Alipura.	His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch).
His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.	His Highness the Raja of Jhabua.
His Highness the Maharaja of Datia.	His Highness the Maharaja of Panna.
His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Junior Branch).	His Highness the Raja of Sitamau.

Rajputana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.	His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur.	His Highness the Maharao of Kotah.
His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.	

Bombay.

The Pant Sachiv of Bhor.	The Chief of Jamkhandi.
The Nawab of Blasinor.	His Highness the Mir of Khairpur.
The Raja of Chhota Udepur (Minor).	His Highness the Chief of Sangli.

Western India States.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.	His Highness the Maharaja Rana Saheb of Porbandar.
The Thakor Saheb of Limbdi.	His Highness the Raj Saheb of Wankaner.
The Thakor Saheb of Palitana.	

Punjab States.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.	His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
His Highness the Nawab of Malerkotla.	His Highness the Raja of Suket.
His Highness the Raja of Mandi.	

Central Provinces.

The Ruling Chief of Nandgaon.

Punjab.

The Rana of Baghat.

The Raja of Kalsia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency, we desire in the first place to express our gratitude for the welcome which you have extended to us, on the occasion of the first assembling of the Chamber of Princes in its new home. With characteristic kindness, Your Excellency has referred to the difficulties inevitably associated with such moving in: but we trust that in the very near future we shall be able, with the assistance of Your Excellency's Government, to obviate any inconvenience experienced by certain of our members in finding accommodation in the New Capital. It is not always easy for our members to assemble in large numbers: and it will encourage them to make the effort, if they can be assured that their stay in Delhi will be unattended by avoidable inconvenience. We are, however, happy to think that a notable gathering of Rulers has, nevertheless, assembled to transact the business before us in this Chamber and outside. It is a great encouragement to us that Their Highnesses of Baroda and Rampur have associated themselves with our deliberations. But we may state quite frankly that the question of the members of our Order assembling in the Chamber in full strength is closely connected with the kind of business here transacted and depends upon its being of a nature which bears more directly upon the major interests of the States than is at present the case. It is our endeavour to remedy the existing state of affairs, as far as in us lies, that has led to the passing of those resolutions to which Your Excellency has already accorded your sympathetic assent. It is our belief that the alterations in procedure which we hope will result therefrom will, by giving the Standing Committee a larger share in shaping the Chamber agenda, and by increasing the efficiency of its own procedure, contribute in no small degree to produce a more satisfactory state of affairs.

We also thank Your Excellency for the expression of your sympathy in connection with the losses which our Order has recently sustained.

Your Excellency has referred to the special importance of the problem of the relations of the States with the Government of India; and we are happy to take this opportunity of expressing to you our sincere thanks for the assistance you are lending towards the investigation of this problem with a view to its ultimate solution. At the Round Table Conference convened by Your Excellency in May last, we were enabled to give some expression to the uneasiness which many of us feel in regard to certain aspects of the present relationship. It is the simple truth that we have grave misgivings as to the operation of the existing system upon our sovereign rights. But our anxiety does not arise from merely selfish considerations. We feel that our power for good both in our own States and in India as a whole is impaired and that our strength as a potent factor in the well-being of India is threatened at the very moment, when, as it seems to us, it ought to be developed for the general good of all India and of the Empire.

Your Excellency's sympathetic attitude towards the States, manifested not only in the course of the Simla discussions but also in your decision to impress upon His Majesty's Government the reasons justifying our request for an impartial and a searching study of the true relationship between the States and the Crown, has encouraged us to proceed with the task of taking stock of the position. It appears to us that whilst preserving the individual identity of the States which we so justly prize, the India of the States can at all times, in the future as in the past, contribute worthily toward the great end, common to it with British India, of promoting the well-being of all India and all its peoples.

Your Excellency has referred to two important aspects of the problems of our relations which it will fall to the lot of the Committee to examine. In regard to the legal—or, as we should prefer, with Your Excellency's permission to term it—the constitutional aspect, we are happy to inform you that we have already taken skilled advice on certain portions of the field, and will do our utmost to assist in the elucidation before the Indian States Committee of this very complicated and difficult relationship.

The economic disabilities from which the States are at present suffering are, we believe, more serious than is generally supposed; and such review as we have as yet been able to make has caused surprise even to ourselves. We have known individually of particular cases of these disabilities. But we are keenly looking forward to the opportunity which the Indian States Committee will afford us of making a carefully prepared and convincing representation for the safeguarding of those interests, which, though hitherto obscured for various reasons, are nevertheless vital to the general well-being of India as a whole.

We are encouraged by the knowledge that Your Excellency is entirely in sympathy with our desire that the Indian States Committee should pursue its investigations in such fashion as to ascertain the real causes of our present discontents. No other road can lead to the discovery of the right remedies. To such a task complete frankness and candour on the part of the States in describing to the Committee their experience of the working of the present system are essential. And we feel sure that Your Excellency will see to it that no member of our Order and no State shall suffer in any respect whatever, directly or indirectly, if we make to the Committee full and free disclosure of the facts within our knowledge and of the opinions which we have been led to form. Some of the States, not as yet in direct relations with the Government of India, are anxious, to our knowledge, to be brought into this relationship as soon as possible. By the necessities of the times our minds are at the present moment directed to the basic realities of the India that is, and is to be. The problems which now call for solution are not to be settled by any process which shuns realities in favour of appearance. The appointment of the Indian States Committee, as Your Excellency has justly remarked, is a landmark in the history of the relations between the States and the Crown, and we believe and hope that it will be a great one—and that the fruits of the Committee's labours may enure not only to the benefit of the States, but through them also to the benefit of British India and the Empire. We will endeavour to respond with close and earnest thought to Your Excellency's appeal that we should express our views fully and comprehensively upon all matters within the terms of reference. Our Standing Committee has already been invested with general authority, by the Princes assembled in Delhi, to proceed with the task of preparing the case on behalf of the States generally: and we deeply appreciate Your Excellency's desire that the enquiry shall be brought to a happy and successful issue, and will do all in our power to promote that end.

We now wish to turn to another subject, to which Your Excellency, like ourselves, attaches great importance—the question of internal reforms. You, Sir, have already manifested your personal interest in this question by the preparation of a note upon the principles of good government, which many of us have perused with great interest and entire agreement. Our general attitude towards the topic will have been sufficiently manifested to Your Excellency by the passage of the resolution put forward by His Highness of Bikaner. We, no less than Your Excellency, realise the importance at the present juncture of protecting the good name of the whole Order of Princes. It is our aim to bring about a state of affairs in which criticism will find no ground for censure, for we realise that our usefulness to India and to the Empire as well as to our own subjects, is directly dependent upon the ability of each and every State to discharge the responsibilities which rest upon it. In this connection, however, we will again venture to emulate Your Excellency's own frankness. There is no greater impediment to good government in a State than a weakening of its Ruler's authority. Yet such a weakening must inevitably result if the Ruler's rights to develop his country as he thinks best are denied: or even if doubt is thrown upon the scope of his sovereignty. It equally results if a State is subjected to fiscal burdens in which its Ruler has had no voice: or to restrictions on its fiscal freedom or to measures which divert its natural revenue. The foundation

of good government, we earnestly submit, is stability. Let the States be assured of their right position, and we feel assured that we shall not fail to rise to our responsibilities.

We are most gratified to learn from Your Excellency that your personal experience in the States which you have visited has enabled you to understand better the old ideals of Indian Kingship. In politics, we venture to think, the newest thing is not always the best. and there is such a thing as progress founded on experience as well as progress founded on experiment. The history of India is full of experiments with differing kinds of politics. But we believe it is not without significance that our ancient culture has concentrated itself upon developing the conception of kingship. We endorse in full Your Excellency's appreciation of the relations between an Indian King and his subjects as that of service, remembering always that the service is that of the father to his children and that the relation of subjects to King is that of children to father. The tie which exists between them is a religious tie, a family tie and a social tie. We believe, and we believe profoundly, that this tried institution has a future as glorious as its past, and that the ancient kingly houses of India have a part of the utmost value to play in the progress of their subjects and in the prosperity of the country.

Your Excellency has done us the honour to invite our co-operation in certain specific matters. We will gladly give it. In the progress of agriculture we are gratified to note that Your Excellency has already manifested a keen and informed interest. We ourselves are alive to the importance of the question, and some of our States, we are glad to think, have already an honourable record of endeavour which is an example to other parts of India. Road development also is a matter in which we are interested, and we shall be glad to give our best attention to any scheme to which our co-operation is invited and to show that we can think beyond the confines of our States and for the good of India as a whole.

In regard to humanitarian questions Your Excellency may rest assured of our desire to manifest in practical shape our appreciation of the ideals by which you are inspired; and we would assure you that our zeal to preserve those great rights of internal sovereignty which we possess is in our belief perfectly compatible with our equally strong determination to co-operate effectively in all measures really required to ensure the progress and well-being of India as a whole. For are we not part of India? And while as between British India on the one side and States India on the other there ought to be mutual respect for rights and a careful observance of limitations, there must also be, we affirm, a spirit of give and take in matters where both sides are equally concerned.

We thank Your Excellency for the lively and sympathetic interest which you maintain in the affairs of the Chamber, as manifested on this occasion particularly, by the reference in your inaugural speech to certain matters upon the agenda. We also thank Your Excellency for the honour done to our Order by your kind reference to the work done by His Highness of Kapurthala at the League of Nations. Finally we have to thank Your Excellency once again for your statesmanlike appreciation of the significance of the Princes of India to the country and to the Empire to which they are proud to belong, and for your intention, manifested in deeds as well as in words, of securing for them the opportunity to play their part for good in the critical times which lie ahead.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Your Highnesses, I do not desire to claim Your Highnesses' attention, at the end of a long week of sessions, such as you have had, for more than a very few moments, but that I think I must do, if it were for no other reason than to thank His Highness the Chancellor, for the personal courtesy that he introduced into the speech, on behalf of the members and representative members of this Chamber, in reply to my own I would like more particularly to associate myself with him in the expression

of pleasure to which he gave voice that this Chamber should have had the advantage on this occasion of the presence of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda and His Highness the Nawab of Rampur. (Cheers). It is only counterbalanced in my mind by a regret, that I think is present in the minds of all Your Highnesses,—that His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar should have been prevented by indisposition this session from attending our debates. I can assure Your Highnesses again that I shall always be ready and anxious to do whatever may lie from time to time in my power to make these debates within the Chamber such as will enlist and retain as great and important an interest on the part of Your Highnesses as possible. I think it is probable, as we have said in the course of this week, that Your Highnesses have taken a step in the right direction by urging that the framing of the agenda should be performed by the Standing Committee. There may be other causes that from time to time are responsible for these debates not being as interesting as otherwise they should be; for some of them Your Highnesses may have to be blamed, for some of them we may have to be blamed. So far as I am concerned I would endeavour to apply my energies and the energies of the Political Department towards the stimulation of interest in debates in this Chamber. I would appeal to Your Highnesses to do the same on your side. For, having had the opportunity of seeing the Chamber twice, and having had another year in which to make a more intimate and a more extended acquaintance with a great many of Your Highnesses—whether I am right or wrong, I clearly feel in my own mind that the Chamber and the meeting of the Chamber year by year must be an instrument of great value, if used aright, for Your Highnesses' Order in bringing together ideas upon many subjects, not necessarily only those that appear on the agenda, and also in comparing notes and exchanging views between the Order of Princes and the Government of India. But I do definitely want, and I am sure Your Highnesses want, to see the Chamber filling a larger and larger place in the general picture of the evolution both of the Order of Princes and of the relations existing between your Order and the Government of India. Therefore any help that I can give towards assisting the Chamber, towards, as I say, enlisting and retaining Your Highnesses' interest, I shall certainly be anxious to give. It is, of course, wholly natural that the topic of the Committee, which has been presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, should have engrossed a good deal of your attention and mine. I have nothing to add to what I have said about that. I noted with interest what His Highness the Chancellor said in regard to it on your behalf. I can only give the assurance, which I am sure His Highness the Chancellor would not think was really necessary for me to give, that it is my most earnest desire that any State that has or any Ruler who has anything relevant to contribute should be ready and willing to contribute it, if it be useful for the consideration of the topics with which that Committee is concerned, without reserve and with the full assurance that in so doing he and his State will be rendering a service not only to him but to the general body of the States and the Government of India as well. Because it is our desire no less than yours to have these matters fully examined and discussed.

I have to thank, and I think, congratulate Your Highnesses on the work that you have done in the week. I think that the wise words in which His Highness the Chancellor referred to the Maharaja of Bikaner's Resolution passed during the week need no further comment at this stage from me, because I have had the opportunity of expressing my opinion on the Maharaja of Bikaner's resolution. I have no doubt at all that Your Highnesses have acted in that matter with wisdom and courage. The only thing I think that remains for me to say is to thank His Highness the Chancellor for promising on your behalf co-operation in the various matters for which I appealed for co-operation in the course of my earlier observations—and to tell him and through him all Your Highnesses how warmly I welcome the spirit with which the whole of his speech seemed to me to be

inspired, the spirit of constructive effort to meet the problems which confront us all and a determination to meet them with a desire to bring them all to a free and frank discussion with myself as representing the Government of India and with the Government of India officers. In that spirit, Your Highnesses, I anticipate no great or at all events no insuperable difficulty, as I have often said, in finding a way out of what may appear to be a problem of great confusion and great difficulty. With Your Highnesses' help I have no doubt that we shall be able to evolve solutions, which if not immediately permanent, will be solutions reasonably satisfactory. That is all that I have to say except again to thank His Highness for his speech and Your Highnesses for what he said in it on your behalf (Cheers).

I think that concludes our business, Your Highnesses, except the informal business of perpetuating the memory of this session in a photograph.

Their Highnesses then dispersed for the photograph.

Resolutions passed by the Chamber of the Princes (*Narendra Mandal*) during the session held at New Delhi on the 20th February 1928 and following days.

Resolution of loyalty to the Royal Throne by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

Resolved.—As this is the first occasion on which the Princes meet in their new Chamber hall in Delhi, of which the first stone was laid by the hands of His Majesty the King Emperor, the Narendra Mandal resolves that the expression of the members of the Narendra Mandal of abiding loyalty and attachment to the Royal Throne may be respectfully conveyed by His Excellency the Viceroy as the President of the Chamber to His Majesty.

Agendum No. 1.

Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the death of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes records its profound sense of grief at the demise of His Royal Highness the Marquess of Cambridge and requests His Excellency the President to be so kind as to convey to Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen Empress its loyal and respectful condolences on this melancholy occasion.

Agendum No. 1-A.

Resolution of condolence by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala in connection with the deaths of Their late Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Maharaja of Karauli, and the Raja of Jawhar.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes records its heart-felt sorrow at the sad demise of Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi and the Maharaja of Karauli and the Raja of Jawhar, deeply deploring the loss thereby sustained by the Order of Ruling Princes of India. The Chamber offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved Ruling families.

Agendum No. 2.

Resolution of welcome by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharajas of Tripura and Kishangarh.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharao Raja of Bundi, the Maharaja of Karauli, the Maharawal of Dungarpur and the Maharajas of Tripura and Kishangarh on their attainment of ruling powers, welcomes them in its midst and wishes them a long and prosperous rule.

Agendum No. 3.

Report from His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes passes a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala for so ably conducting the affairs of the Chamber and the Standing Committee for the past 15 months.

Agendum No. 4.

Statement by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala regarding his work as a representative of India at the meeting of the League of Nations in 1927.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes passes a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala for the successful manner in which His Highness performed his duties as a representative of India at the 8th Assembly of the League of Nations.

Agendum No. 5.

Question of the construction of tramways in Indian States.

Resolved.—That the question of the construction of tramways in Indian States be again sent back to the Standing Committee for further consideration.

Agendum No. 6.

Question of the employment of Europeans, etc., in Indian States.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes accords its general approval to the recommendation of the Standing Committee on the subject.

Agendum No. 7.

Assessment of compensation for land required in British India and in Indian States for irrigation purposes, etc.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes accords its general approval to the recommendation of the Standing Committee on the subject.

Agendum No. 8.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir in regard to the framing by the Standing Committee of its own agenda and the agenda of the Chamber for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Resolved.—That the Standing Committee be empowered to frame its own agenda and the agenda of the Chamber for the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Agendum No. 9.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the attendance of the Chancellor's Secretary, etc., at the meetings of the Standing Committee.

Resolved.—(a) that the Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor should invariably attend all meetings of the Standing Committee and speak whenever invited to do so by any member of the Standing Committee; (b) that any expert adviser or advisers whom Their Highnesses on the Standing Committee may select for special or technical purposes should be entitled to

attend meetings of the Standing Committee whenever any experts or advisers of the Government of India attend such meetings and on such occasions they should be entitled to address the meeting at the request of any member of the Standing Committee.

Agendum No. 10.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir regarding the raising of the quorum of the Standing Committee from three to five and the filling of the places of the members of the Standing Committee in their absence by Substitute Members of the Standing Committee elected for the purpose.

Resolved.—(a) that the quorum of the Standing Committee be raised from three to five; (b) that after the Standing Committee has been elected, the Chamber should proceed to elect a panel of six Members to be Substitute Members of the Standing Committee; (c) that in the unavoidable absence of any members of the Standing Committee, Members of the Chamber who have been elected Substitute Members of the Standing Committee should be requested by His Highness the Chancellor in the order of votes they receive to attend in the places thus temporarily vacant.

Agendum No. 11.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

Resolved.—That the following be substituted for the last sentence of Rule 7, in Appendix A to the First Regulations of the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes, relating to the election of the Chancellor:—

“ The number of votes recorded for each Member shall, at the time of declaring the result of election, be announced on the floor of the Chamber ”.

Agendum No. 11-A.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar regarding the announcement in the Chamber of the number of votes recorded in favour of Princes offering themselves for election as members of the Standing Committee.

Resolved.—That the following be substituted for the last sentence of Rule 7, in Appendix B to the First Regulations of the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes, relating to the election of the Standing Committee:—

“ The number of votes recorded for each Member shall, at the time of declaring the result of election, be announced on the floor of the Chamber ”.

Agendum No. 13.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala regarding reciprocity between British India and Indian States as regards the recognition of previous convictions awarded by the courts of States or of British India.

Resolved.—That for purposes of section 75 of the Indian Penal Code previous convictions by Courts of Indian States should be recognised by the

Government of India on the clear understanding that the Indian States would in their turn recognise previous convictions by British Indian Courts.

Agendum No. 14.

Election of the Chancellor

Resolved.—That, according to the largest number of votes, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala be re-elected as Chancellor, and His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar for the second place.

Agendum No. 15.

Election of the Standing Committee.

Resolved.—That the following Princes be elected as members of the Standing Committee:—

1. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
2. His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner
4. His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.
5. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.
6. His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar.

Election of substitute members of the Standing Committee.

Resolved.—That the following Princes be elected as substitute members of the Standing Committee:—

1. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala
4. His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur
5. His Highness the Maharaja of Panna
6. His Highness the Chief of Sangli.

Resolution by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner regarding the appointment of the Indian States Committee and internal reforms in Indian States.

Resolved.—That the Chamber of Princes—

- (1) places on record its sense of gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India for the appointment of the Indian States Committee;
- (2) expresses the hope that the outcome of the deliberations and recommendations of the Committee will tend further to strengthen the ties which bind the Princes of India to the Imperial Crown and the British Empire and will inaugurate a definite and enduring policy of sympathy and trust in all matters affecting the Indian States.

- (3) appreciates that it is impossible to apply a uniform standard of administration to the diverse conditions prevailing among the States, and that a Ruler and his Government must be the best judges of what measures and methods are most suited to promote the progress and prosperity of their States and subjects;
- (4) recognises the real and permanent value of internal reforms emanating from within the States on the initiative of their Governments; and
- (5) considers it important for the future well-being of the States that they should carefully review their administrations with a view to inaugurate, where not already existing, measures such as the following:—
 - (a) a definite code of law guaranteeing liberty of person and safety of property administered by a judiciary independent of the Executive; and
 - (b) the settlement, upon a reasonable basis, of the purely personal expenditure of the Ruler as distinguished from the public charges of administration.

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